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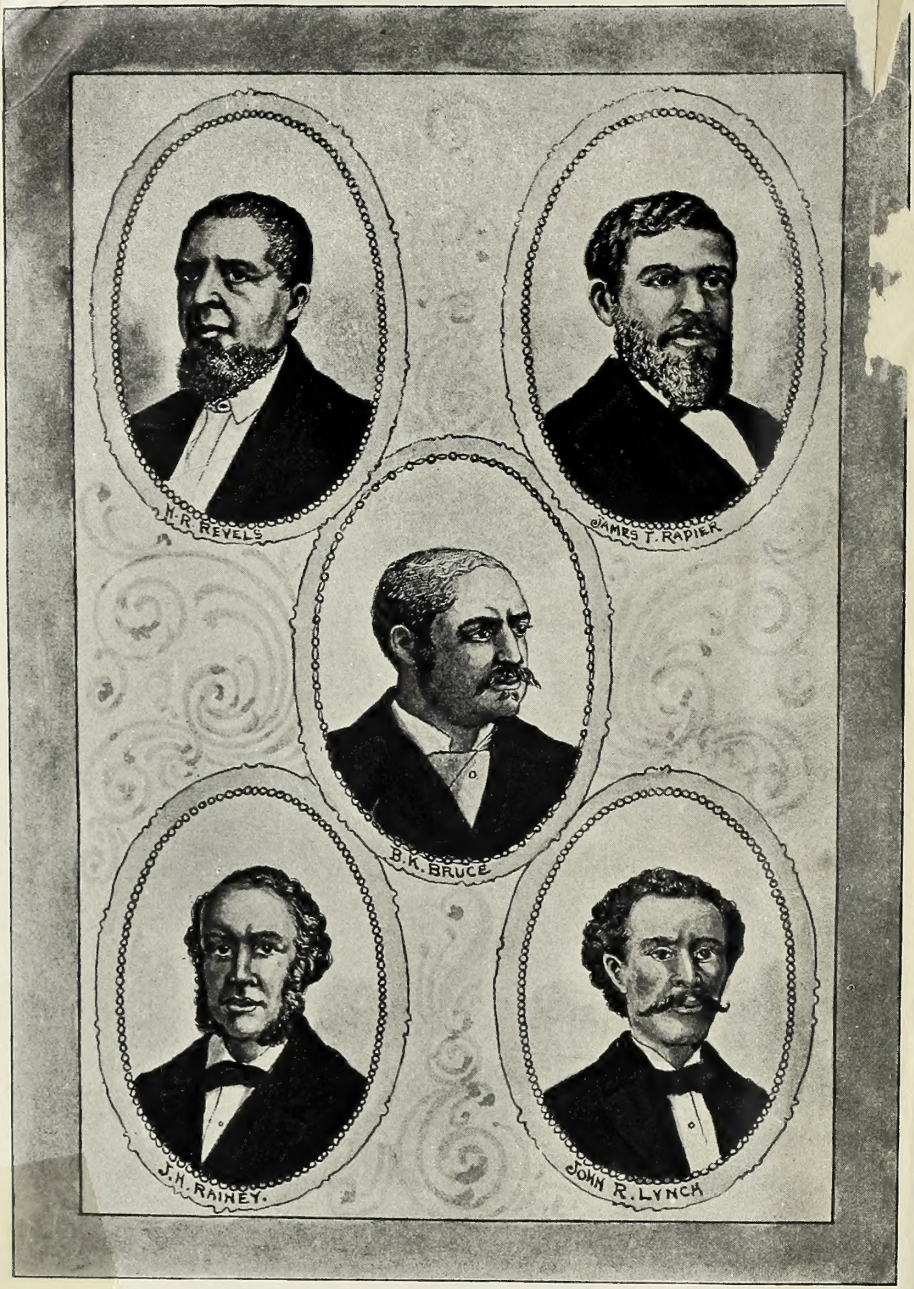
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H. R. REVELS
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HISTORY OF THE
COLORED RACE
IN AMERICA.

CONTAINING ALSO THEIR

ANCIENT AND MODERN LIFE IN AFRICA,

MODES OF LIVING, EMPLOYMENTS, CUSTOMS,
HABITS, SOCIAL LIFE, ETC.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SLAVERY

IN THE OLD WORLD, AND ITS INTRODUCTION ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT; THE SLAVE TRADE; SLAVERY AND ITS ABOLITION IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

THE CIVIL WAR, EMANCIPATION,

EDUCATION AND ADVANCEMENT OF THE COLORED RACE,
THEIR CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS.

PREPARED AND ARRANGED BY

WM. T. ALEXANDER, A.M.

"And God said: 'Let there be Light,' and there was Light."

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HUDSON-KIMBERLY PUBLISHING COMPANY,

1897.

TO THE MILLIONS OF OUR COLORED CITIZENS WHOSE
PAST HISTORY GIVES PROMISE OF FUTURE GREATNESS,
IS THIS WORK MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

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PREFACE.

In presenting this history to the Colored Race in America, the author does so with an earnest desire that it will be the means of acquainting them to a fuller extent with the history of their race and their civil and political liberties, which have been secured to them through civil strife and on fields of carnage, dedicated and consecrated as they are by the blood and tears of the Nation. We believe that they will fully realize the importance and necessity of a work of this character, teaching and tracing as it does their early history through the dark and gloomy ages of the past, and bringing it forward out of that darkness into the glorious light of rational liberty.

Nor can the importance of the subject be overestimated. The present condition of the colored people demands that they should be informed of their history and learn of those causes which held them in bondage; the introduction of slavery on the American Continent, and of the great social revolution in this country, which operated under Providence to break their shackles and release them from a hideous and debasing thraldom.

They must awake to the new destinies which await them, made necessary by the growth and development of the times. Their freedom they have, but of what avail is physical emancipation if the mind be permitted to grope in darkness or dwell in the region of ignorance? The liberty yet to be extended to the colored people is liberty not political, but intellectual, that which gives them to know and to understand the nature of those

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rights, to obtain which so much has been sacrificed. To keep in ignorance the masses has ever been the rubric of oppression.

The advancement of the times, and the changes in their social condition, make it absolutely necessary that the colored people should fully understand all matters relating, as they do, directly to them, and more especially does this apply to the younger generation, who must meet upon that plane of social condition their white brother, to which the advancement of the times is so rapidly pressing, or fall behind in the race and sink into degradation.

To the parent, therefore, the study and acquaintance of his history becomes doubly important, since it is for him to impart that knowledge to his children, the tender objects of his affection and care. Should the parent neglect this important duty, whom then could he blame?

The subjects embraced in this work are of vast importance and need careful attention. It is only by a thorough knowledge of the past history of the race that the colored people will be better able to avail themselves of the blessings the future has in store for them.

Slavery is extinct, and on its tombstone is written, with bayonet dipped in blood, "Dead, never to be resurrected in America." But there are some abuses still in existence, and will ever so continue until the colored man fits himself for the duties of life, and steps forth into the political arena to do battle for himself.

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INSTITUTIONS may crumble and Governments fall, but it is only that they may renew a better youth, and mount upward like the eagle; the petals of the flower wither, that fruit may form. The desire of protection, springing always from moral power, rules even the sword, and escapes unharmed even from the field of carnage; giving to battles all they can have of luster, and to warriors their only glory; surviving martyrdoms, and safe amid the wreck of States. On the banks of the stream of time, not a monument has been raised to a hero or Nation, but tells a tale and renews the hope of improvement. Each people that has disappeared, every institution that has passed away, has been but a step in the ladder by which humanity ascends toward the perfecting of nature.

GEORGE BANCROFT.

INTRODUCTORY.

The history of the Colored Race presents to us a theme of profound study and careful consideration. It is as ancient as that of the Egyptians, and as worthy of perusal as that of the Jews, to which in some respects it is similar. We find in them those characteristics that the wise and just of all time love and worship—loyalty, devotion and truth; and it is with the hope that the colored people may, by tracing the history of their race through the long years of servitude and oppression, to the dawn of lasting freedom, education, and American citizenship, be able to better understand the position they occupy in the annals of civilized nations—whence they came, and whither they are drifting, that this work has been arranged; and we trust it may meet with careful study by the reader.

We have in Chapter I. devoted a short space to the early history of mankind, in which we have endeavored to make clear, in the space allotted, that there is no difference by nature between any two races of mankind. Research into the early history of mankind has developed the fact that they all had one common origin, and the reason that one people are white and another black is simply the workings of a law in nature, which, although we cannot well understand, we see going on every day around us. By the closest analysis of the blood of one of each race the slightest difference cannot be detected; and so, in the aspirations of the mind, or the impulses of the heart, we are all one common family, with nothing but the development of the mind through the channel of education to raise one man, or one people, above another.

It is the opinion of the writer, from extended observation and dealings with the Southern people, that, so far as noble characteristics are concerned, the Colored Race possess those traits to fully as great a degree as do the white.

We have also considered the ancient history of the race. We give the story of Atlantis, which, though not based on history, is probable; but whether the race came from Atlantis or Southern Asia, we must admit their great antiquity.

Modern travelers in Africa have discovered vast ruins of temples, palaces and cities; everything goes to prove that the vast ruins of Mount Berkel are of the city of Napata, the ancient capital of Ethiopia; and what may yet be brought to light to reveal the wonders of this ancient people, or their advancement in science, art and civilization, no tongue can tell.

The Colored Race in America are direct descendants from the ancient Ethiopians, who were civilized, built cities, and whose armies invaded Egypt and Nubia many centuries before the Christian Era.

Egypt was peopled by the Hamitic Race, who founded two kingdoms, afterwards united.

Here, social, political and industrial institutions developed very early in great strength. Their language—the pictorial representation of their social, political and religious affairs—and the grand and gloomy majesty of their works of art, imply a long period of growth before they reached the maturity in which we find them when written history commences.

Their institutions, even in the earliest historic times, showed signs of the decrepitude and decay of age. The vastness and the grim maturity of their monuments and language seem to lend much support to their claim of an *immense antiquity.* The future study of their remains of art and literature will settle some important problems in the chronology of the human race. The children of Ham were clearly the first to lead off in the march of civilization.

What trials, bloody wars and fierce revolutions this ancient people passed through, which has reduced them to the condition in which we now find them, God only knows. Their ancient history truly gives promise of future greatness, and it is not at all improbable that they will soon over-run all of Africa, and plant the standard of civilization once more in Ethiopia and the land of the Pharaohs.

The chapter relating to the more recent travels in the Dark Continent give many interesting accounts of the people as we now find them. As a whole, they may not be considered as a barbarous race, but the contrary. They treated our travelers with the utmost kindness, and had it not been for the raids made amongst them to capture, as slaves, and carry them away captive into America and other countries, they would have shown no antagonism whatever. The white man's influence among them has been bad; taking them away as slaves has taught them to enslave one another, until "slavery in Africa," as Livingstone says, "has become the open sore of the world." Until the invasion of the white man, they were true children of nature. In their native land they were brave, and fought desperately for liberty, as the account of the battle of Kilgou, with Ismail Pasha and his army of slave-hunters, clearly shows.

> "Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
> That never to himself hath said,
> This is my own, my native land.'"

Then comes the world's disgrace—the dark pages in its history—the long years of slavery. Though other races have been enslaved, the burden of this sin fell upon the African Race. The first recorded instance of slavery was during the famine in Egypt, when the Egyptians came to Joseph, saying: "There is not aught left in the sight of my lord, but our bodies and our lands. Buy us and our land for bread, and we and our lands will become servants to Pharaoh."

It is, however, true that "Slavery is as ancient as war, and war as human nature," or as human nature engrossed by the love of gain, without which it is not natural. Fred Douglass relates, touchingly, that he never knew a boy who did not sympathize with him, "and hoped he would soon be free."

Slavery was introduced into America by Colonists from the Old World, who brought their slaves with them. But the first direct importation from Africa was August, 1619, one year before the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock.

The early history of slavery represents more the patriarchal

system, and was comparatively free from the barbarous and cruel practices adopted after the invention of the Cotton Gin, which made the cultivation of cotton extremely profitable. Then came the reign of the slave-driver, and more cruel and tyrannical measures than were ever practiced by uncivilized nations, a stigma and lasting disgrace upon the fair name of the American Republic. Half clad and half fed, they worked early and late, in fear of the slave-drivers' lash, and with no hope of reward. The slave trade again flourished, and "grew like a green bay tree." It filled the coffers of Kings, Potentates, and of the unprincipled for many centuries. It reigned in America without serious opposition for about 240 years. At last the cloud of deliverance appeared on the horizon, at first no larger than a man's hand, but it grew, until it bids fair to cover the whole world.

The names, Wilberforce, Garrison, Beecher, Sumner, Greeley, Lincoln, and others, will be held in tender remembrance by the colored people as the deliverers of their race, and will be revered by lovers of liberty through all time. Though dead, their deeds live after them. They did their work well.

Deliverance at last came, and the race were free, but the struggles to retain the institution of slavery were terrible in the extreme, and engaged the American people in the bloodiest war the world had ever witnessed, costing the lives of nearly a million men, and taking the light and life from as many loving hearts and happy homes. The just retribution that works in the law of nature "paid back," as Lincoln said, "every drop of blood drawn by the sword for one drawn by the lash." Every heart made desolate by the divisions of families on the auction block, paid, by homes and hearts made desolate by war. The war was the direct result of slavery. The South desired to extend the slave territory, the North to restrict it. The South clearly saw that it must be extended if the institution lived. The opposition to its extension as well as its existence was strong, and for every new State whose soil was free, the South demanded a new slave State; and when the election of Lincoln proclaimed

to the South that their political prestige was gone, they sought redress in arms and waged a deadly and desperate warfare. Having foreseen the impending struggle, the South had in a measure prepared for it, and for the first two years the tide seem to turn in their favor. After that, the North were victorious in every important battle, and Lee surrendered at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, and the so-called "Confederate States of America" became a thing of the past.

Then came the rejoicing of peace, the return of the victorious armies who marched in review before the President at Washington. Dr. Talmage's description of this review is dazzling; he says: "The grandest day I ever saw. The like was never witnessed in this world and never will be again. God knew that the day was stupendous, and He cleared the heavens of clouds and mist and chill, and strung the blue sky as a triumphal arch for the returning warriors to pass under. From Arlington Heights the spring foliage shook out its welcome as the hosts came over the hills, and the sparkling waters of the Potomac tossed their gold to meet the battalions as they came over the Long Bridge in almost interminable lines. The Capitol never seemed so majestic as that morning, snowy white, looking upon the tide of men that came surging down billow after billow, passing in silence, yet I heard in every step those conflicts through which they had waded and seemed to see dripping from their smoky flags the blood of our country's martyrs.

"For the best part of two days we stood and watched the filing on of the same endless battalions, brigade after brigade, division after division, host after host, ever moving, ever passing, marching, marching! Tramp, tramp, tramp! Thousands after thousands! Battery front! Arms shouldered! Column solid! Shoulder to shoulder! Wheel to wheel! Charger to charger! Commanders on horses with their reins entwined with roses, their necks enchained with garlands—hundreds of thousands of heroes marching on!"

And now as we look back over those days of blood and carnage, we feel to thank God that no more we see serried ranks

in battle array, nor hear the tramp of marching armies. No more we hear the cries of the wounded and dying, nor see the brave dead that covered the battle-fields "thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks in Vallombrosa." Old issues are being forgotten, and the long-desired friendly feeling once more established between the two sections. The action of the women of Columbus, Mississippi, is commendable as acting those ever memorable words of Grant, "Let us have peace." On Decoration day they strewed flowers alike on the graves of the Confederate and National Soldiers, both equally brave and gallant, and who fought for a principle as they understood it.

"By the flow of the inland river,
Whence the fleets of iron have fled,
Where the blades of the grave-grass quiver,
Asleep on the ranks of the dead:—
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day;
Under the one, the Blue,
Under the other, the Gray.

"From the silence of sorrowful hours,
The desolate mourners go,
Lovingly ladened with flowers,
Alike for the friend and the foe:—
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day;
Under the roses, the Blue,
Under the lilies, the Gray.

"Sadly, but not with upbraiding,
The generous deed was done;
In the storm of years that are fading,
No braver battle was won:—
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day;
Under the blossoms, the Blue,
Under the garlands, the Gray.

"These in the robing of glory,
Those in the gloom of defeat,
All with the battle-blood gory,
In the dusk of eternity meet:—
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day;
Under the laurel, the Blue,
Under the willow, the Gray.

"No more shall the war-cry sever,
Or the winding rivers be red;
They banish our anger forever
When they laurel the graves of our dead!

Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the judgment day;
Love and tears for the Blue,
Tears and love for the Gray.

We have given a sketch of the life of Abraham Lincoln, the author of the Emancipation Proclamation, who, with one stroke of his pen, struck the shackles from four millions of slaves. He was a representative American, who in his great heart could sympathize with the bearer of every wrong.

We cannot do better in this connection than to quote the words of editor Grady, in his address to the New England Society. He said:

"Great types, like valuable plants, are slow to flower and fruit. But from the union of these Colonists, Puritans and Cavaliers, from the strengthening of their purposes and the crossing of their blood, slow perfecting, through a century, came he who stands as the first typical American; the first who comprehended within himself all the majesty and grace of this Republic—Abraham Lincoln. He was the sum of Puritan and Cavalier, for in his ardent nature were fused the virtues of both, and in the depths of his great soul the faults of both were lost. He was greater than Puritan, greater than Cavalier, in that he was American; and that in his homely form were first gathered the vast and thrilling forces of his ideal Government—charging it with such tremendous meaning and so elevating it above human suffering, that martyrdom, though infamously aimed, came as a fitting crowm to a life consecrated from the cradle to human liberty."

We have said that the race were free. How little can those who never knew by experience the dreadful meaning of "slavery" appreciate what freedom means. It is said that at first the colored people did not seem to realize its importance: a reality, a dream, or a vision of the fancy. They saw the slave whip burnt to ashes, their chains melted, saw a bondage which had, as Douglass says, "resisted the humanity of ages, defied earth and heaven, ended." The manifestations of their joy and gratitude knew no bounds, and sought expression in the loudest and wildest possible forms. No wonder they ran

about, and danced, and sang. They gazed into the blue sky and thanked the Giver of every blessing; they prayed and shouted; they laughed and wept for joy. A race of people had been born in a day. The news of Emancipation was not proportionately less gratifying to the Anti-Slavery Society in the North, who through long years of earnest working now beheld the answer to their prayers, and all civilized Nations rejoiced.

"When a deed is done for freedom,
Through the broad earth's aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic,
Trembling on from East to West."

We have gathered some facts relative to the colored man as a soldier. Their loyalty and devotion to a principle are among their chief characteristics, which are also those required for a soldier.

The record of Revolutionary times places this race as among the patriots who by their blood secured liberty to the Colonies. They are recorded as being brave and daring, and we find no instance where they deserted or betrayed their country. They also rendered valuable service in the war of 1812. General Jackson, at New Orleans, found it necessary to call upon the colored people to assist in its defence against England.

Abraham Lincoln called upon them to defend the Union against Rebellion, to which they gallantly responded. Lincoln praises the action of the true and patriotic blacks, as compared with the treacherous action of the whites, in plain terms.

There were as many as 200,000 engaged in the war, on the side of the Union, who always proved worthy and efficient soldiers. The Southern leaders made efforts to enlist them in their cause, with some success, under the promise of freedom.

In that they were not generally used in actual engagements on either side, we can see the ruling of God in not allowing them to be shot down, to atone for sins they never committed.

We have also considered the advancement and education of the Colored Race.

In 1863, we find four millions of this race turned out, largely dependent upon the charities of the Southern people; a people whom the ordeal of war had reduced to poverty, so that those who would, could give them but little help.

During the period of Reconstruction, they suffered untold hardships, and in many sections their little property and their lives were sacrificed by those whom war had embittered, and prejudice to this people had driven to desperation. The action of the Ku-Klux clan and White Leagues look back on the pages of United States history, and Reconstruction was retarded much, and confidence in the good intentions of the Southern people was shaken by the depredations of these societies.

But all of this has passed away, and we now see the Colored Race advancing step by step in spite of all the opposition, the insult, and race prejudice that has beset their pathway; and when the question is asked, "Are the Colored Race capable of the highest education known to man?" we answer, yes. That which was possible once may be accomplished again. The builders of the Pyramids and the Obelisks sat at the feet of the Ethiopians to learn architecture, philosophy, letters and religion. From the Colored Race, Egypt obtained its civilization, and a visit to the twenty-two Universities and Colleges in our own land that are educating young colored men and women for the highest walks in life will convince the most skeptical that in an educational sense there are no impossibilities in the way of their receiving the highest education, of which they are truly susceptible.

We find they control and own 150 newspapers, have 20,000 public schools, attended by 1,000,000 pupils. They produce now 150,000,000 pounds cereals annually, and 3,000,000,000 pounds cotton, and they pay taxes on about $120,000,000 worth of property. This is amazing when we realize that in 1863 they had nothing, and but few could read or write.

We have given in substance the decision in the case of Dred Scott. There was a time in this country when all bowed to a decision of the Supreme Court. It was unquestioned. It was regarded as "a voice from on high." The people heard

and they obeyed. The Dred Scott decision destroyed that illusion forever. From that day to this, the people have claimed the privilege of putting the decisions of the Supreme Court in the crucible of reason. Our Supreme Court, which is the highest tribunal in our land, never was, nor is now infallible. We have to make Judges out of men, and by being made Judges their prejudices are not diminished and their intelligence is not increased. No matter whether a man wears a crown, or a robe, or a rag. Under the emblem of power and the emblem of poverty, the man alike resides.

But now, after the institution of slavery has been destroyed in our country, and prejudice is rapidly dying out, we look at the celebrated decision on Dred Scott with amazement, and wonder how those so learned (?) could have taken so narrow and so biased a view of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution.

The Fugitive Slave Law also appears to us now like a relic of the dark ages. The act was clearly unconstitutional, and yet the Supreme Court of the United States found no difficulty in upholding it. "Any person in any State interfering with the Master, who was endeavoring to steal the person he called his slave, was liable to indictment, and hundreds and thousands were indicted, and hundreds languished in prison because they were noble enough to hold in infinite contempt such infamous laws and such infamous decisions. The best men in the United States—the noblest spirits under the flag—were imprisoned because they were charitable, because they were just, because they showed the hunted slave the path to freedom, and taught him where to find amid the glittering host of heaven the blessed Northern Star."

We have also considered the social and political rights of the Colored Race, which, by the Amendments to the Constitution, have become the same as those of any other citizen, without regard to color or class. Says a celebrated writer:

"The Thirteenth Amendment made all free. It broke the chains, pulled up the whipping-posts, overturned the auction-blocks, gave the colored mother her child, put the shield of the

Constitution over the cradle, destroyed all forms of involuntary servitude, and in the azure heaven of our flag it put the Northern Star.

"The Fourteenth Amendment made us all citizens. It is a contract between the Republic and each individual—a contract by which the Nation agrees to protect the citizen, and the citizen agrees to defend the Nation. This Amendment places the crown of sovereignty on every brow.

"The Fifteenth Amendment secured the citizen in his right to vote, in his right to make and execute the laws, and put these rights above the power of any State. This Amendment placed the ballot—the sceptre of authority—in every sovereign's hand.

"The moment the Thirteenth Amendment was adopted, the slaves became freemen. The distinction between 'white' and 'color' vanished. The Colored Race became as though they had never been slaves—as though they had always been free—as though they had been white. They became citizens—they became a part of 'the people' of the State in which they lived.

"The Thirteenth Amendment not only destroyed, but it built. It destroyed the slave-pen, and on its site created the temple of Liberty. It did not simply free slaves—it made citizens. It repealed every statute that upheld slavery. It erased every report, every decision against freedom. It took the word 'white' from every law, and blotted from the Constitution all clauses acknowledging property in man.

"The Thirteenth Amendment did away with slavery not only, and with involuntary servitude, but with every badge and brand and stain and mark of slavery. It abolished forever distinctions on account of race and color.

"From the moment of the adoption of that Amendment, the law became color blind. All distinctions on account of complexion vanished. It took the whip from the hand of the white man, and put the Nation's flag above the Negro's hut. It gave horizon, scope and power to the lowliest life. It stretched a sky studded with the Stars of Hope above the humblest head.

"Much has been said by the prejudiced and generally uneducated whites since the time the colored person became a citizen, on the subject of 'Social Equality.' There are thousands of people in deadly fear on this subject. They are willing that the colored women shall prepare their food—that colored waiters shall bring it to them—willing to ride in the same cars with the porters, and to be shown to their seats in theatres by colored ushers—willing to be nursed in sickness by colored servants. They see nothing dangerous in any of these relations—but the idea of riding in the same car, stopping at the same hotel, fills them with fear—fear for the future of our race! Such people can be described only in the language of Walt. Whitman: 'They are the immutable, granitic pudding-heads of the world!'

"The Federal soldiers who escaped from Libby and Andersonville, and who in swamps, in storms, and darkness were rescued and fed by the slave, had no scruples about eating with a Negro. They were willing to sit beneath the same tree and eat with them the food he brought. The white soldier was then willing to find rest and slumber beneath the Negro's roof. Charity has no color. It is neither white nor black. Justice and patriotism are the same. Even the Confederate soldier was willing to leave his wife and children under the protection of a man whom he was fighting to enslave.

"The cry about social equality is born of the spirit of caste—the most fiendish of all things. It is worse than slavery. Slavery is at least justified by avarice—by a desire to get somethng for nothing—by a desire to live in idleness upon the labor of others—but the spirit of caste is the offspring of natural cruelty and meanness.

"In all social relations we should have the utmost liberty—but public duties should be discharged and public rights should be recognized, without the slightest discrimination on account of race or color. Riding in the same cars, stopping at the same inns, sitting in the same theatres, no more involve a social question, or social equality, than speaking the same language, reading the same books, hearing the same music,

traveling on the same highway, eating the same food, breathing the same air, warming by the same sun, shivering in the same cold, defending the same flag, loving the same country, or living in the same world.

"Liberty is not a social question. Civil equality is not social equality. We are equal only in rights. No two persons are of equal weight or height. There are no two leaves in all the forests of earth alike—no two blades of grass—no two grains of sand—no two hairs. No two anythings in the physical world are precisely alike. Neither mental nor physical equality can be created by law, but law recognizes the fact that all men have been clothed with equal rights by Nature, the mother of us all.

"The man who hates the black man because he is black, has the same spirit as he who hates the poor man because he is poor. It is the spirit of caste. The proud useless despises the honest useful. The parasite, idleness, scorns the great oak of labor on which it feeds and that lifts it to the light.

"We are the inferior of any men whose rights we trample under foot. Men are not superior by reason of the accidents of race or color. They are superior who have the best heart, the best brain. Superiority is born of honesty, of virtue, of charity, and above all, of the love of liberty. The superior man is the providence of the inferior. He is eyes for the blind, strength for the weak, and a shield for the defenceless. He stands erect, by bending over the fallen. He rises, by lifting others.

"The advancement made by the colored people in the past has been wonderful, and we trust they will use every possible effort to secure education for themselves and their children. They can rest assured the best white people are their friends. The humane, the civilized, the just, the most intelligent, the grandest, are on their side. The sympathies of the noblest are with them. Their enemies are also the enemies of liberty, of progress and of justice. The white men who make the white race honorable believe in equal rights for all. The noblest living are, the noblest dead were, their friends."

These things should inspire them to renewed exertion, the possibilities for them, as a race, are boundless. Time will erase the memory of their wrongs, and by continued earnest endeavor they will soon reach the position for which God designed them—an intelligent and noble people.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT AND MODERN LIFE IN AFRICA.

Like leaves on trees the race of man is found,
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground;
Another race the following spring supplies;
They fall successive, and successive rise:
So, generations in their course decay;
So flourish these when those have passed away.
—*Homer.*

THE human race is known to consist of different nations displaying considerable differences of external form and color, and speaking, in general, different languages. This has been the case since the commencement of written record. It is also ascertained that the external peculiarities of particular nations do not rapidly change. There is rather a tendency to a persistency of type in all lines of descent, in so much that a subordinate admixture of various types is usually obliterated in a few generations. Numerous as the varieties are, they have all been found classified under five leading ones: 1. The Caucasian or Indo-European, which extends from India into Europe and Northern Africa; 2. The Mongolian, which occupies Northern and Eastern Asia; 3. The Malayan, which extends from the Ultra-Gangetic Peninsula into the numerous Islands of the South Sea and Pacific; 4. The Negro, chiefly confined to Africa; 5. The Aboriginal American.

Each of these is distinguished by certain general features of so marked a kind as to give rise to a supposition that they have had distinct or independent origins. Of these peculiarities, color is the most conspicuous; the Caucasians are generally white, the Mongolians yellow, the Negroes black, and the Americans red. The opposition of two of these in particular, white and black, is so striking, that of them, at least, it seems almost necessary to suppose separate origins. Of late years, however, the whole of this question has been subjected to a rigorous investigation, and it has been successfully shown that

the human race might have had one origin from anything that can be inferred from external peculiarities.

It appears from this inquiry,* that color and other physiological characters are of a more superficial and accidental nature than was at one time supposed. One fact is at the very first extremely startling: that there are nations, such as the inhabitants of Hindostan, known to be one in descent, which nevertheless contain groups of people of almost all shades and color. Some other facts, which I may state in brief terms, are scarcely less remarkable. In Africa there are Negro nations—that is, nations of intensely black complexion, as the Jolofs, Mandingoes, and Kafirs—whose features and limbs are as elegant as those of the best European nations. While we have no proof of Negro races becoming white in the course of generations, the converse may be held as established, for there are Arab and Jewish familes of ancient settlement in Northern Africa who have become as black as the other inhabitants. There are also facts which seem to show the possibility of a natural transition by generation from the black to the white complexion, and from the white to the black. True whites (apart from Albinoes) are not unfrequently born among Negroes, and the tendency to this singularity is transmitted in families. There is at least one authentic instance of a set of perfectly black children being born to an Arab couple in whose ancestry no such blood had intermingled. This occurred in the valley of the Jordan, where it is remarkable that the Arab population in general have flatter features, darker skins, and coarser hair than any other tribes of the same nation.

It was Mr. Lawrence's opinion that a pair in which both parties were so distinguished as were the children of the Arab family in the valley of the Jordan might be the progenitors of a new variety of the race, who would be thus marked in all future time.

It is not easy to surmise the causes which operate in producing such varieties. Perhaps they are simply types in

*See Dr. Prichard's Researches into the Physical History of Man.

nature, *possible to be realized under certain appropriate conditions*, but which conditions are such as altogether to elude notice. I might cite, as examples of such possible types, the rise of whites amongst the Negroes, the occurrence of the family of black children in the valley of the Jordan, and the comparatively frequent birth of red-haired children amongst not only Mongolian and Malayan families, but amongst the Negroes. We are ignorant of the laws of variety production; but we see it going on as a principle in nature, and it is obviously favorable to the supposition that all the great families of men are of one stock.

The same conclusion must be arrived at when we study the human figure, which differs much in the different races of mankind. We will mention here only one of the many causes that might be ascribed to the modification of the physical characteristics of these races; the style of living, which is ascertained to have a powerful effect in modifying the human figure in the course of generations—and this even in its osseous structure. About two hundred years ago a number of people were driven by a barbarous policy from the counties of Antrim and Down, in Ireland, towards the sea coast, where they have ever since been settled, but in unusually miserable circumstances, even for Ireland; and the consequence is, that they exhibit peculiar features of the most repulsive kind—projecting jaws with large, open mouths, high cheek bones and bow legs, with an extremely diminutive stature. These, with an abnormal slenderness of the limbs, are the outward marks of a low and barbarous condition all over the world; it is particularly seen in the Australian aborigines. On the other hand, the beauty of the higher ranks in England is very remarkable, being in the main as clearly a result of good external conditions. "Coarse, unwholesome and ill-prepared food," says Buffon, "makes the human race degenerate." Some of the Negro nations of Africa, as the Jolofs, Mandingoes and Kafirs, as we have said, have features and limbs as elegant as any of the European nations, largely caused by the luxuries abundant in that tropical and prolific country.

These are modifying agencies. There is, as has been said, a remarkable persistency in national features and forms, insomuch that a single individual, thrown into a family different from himself, is absorbed in it, and all trace of him lost after a few generations. And if true in individuals, might it not be true as to a race of people, the weaker being lost in the stronger, or dominant race? The Colored Race in America might in time, other things being equal, be absorbed by the white race, especially if they were scattered evenly over the whole country; and even now we may detect the workings of this law in the modifying influence the commingling of the races has wrought.

The traces of a common origin in all languages afford also a ground for presumption for the unity of the human race; but we cannot digress. A careful study of the early history of mankind conclusively shows that of one origin and one blood sprang all the nations of the earth.

Plato tells us that in prehistoric time a great and mighty people existed upon a continent in the Atlantic Ocean, and gathered his information thus: Solon, who was considered in Plato's time the wisest and greatest of the seven sages, left Athens for the period of ten years, and sojourned in Egypt, as fully explained by Plutarch, an Athenian philosopher. Solon dwelt, so Plutarch tells us:

"On the Canopian shore, by Nile's deep mouth."

That there he conversed on points of philosophy and history with the most learned of the Egyptian priests. Plato says: "Solon was a relative and friend of my great-grandfather, Dropidas, as he himself says in several of his poems; and Dropidas told Cretias, my grandfather, who remembered and told us, that there were of old great and marvelous actions of the Athenians, which have pased into oblivion through time and the destruction of the human race. According to the tale, Atlantis, a great island in the Atlantic Ocean, comprising an area as great as Europe and Asia, existed in its glory about ten thousand years before the Christian Era. This vast em-

pire, which controlled the world at that time, in commerce, agriculture and mining, as well as in the glory of its military and naval power, was destroyed in one day by sesmic disturbances, and an earthquake sank the continent to the depth of the sea. However, many escaped on the ships (whose masts represented a forest, as they lay quietly anchored in their great harbors), and became scattered over the world. As we have stated, they were a great commercial people and traded with and migrated to all parts of the world.

We find among the races that inhabited this lost continent, the African type; and the Colored Race in Africa are in all probability emigrants from Atlantis. As to the evidence that such a continent once existed, there is to all intelligent people, who have closely studied the matter, no reasonable doubt, and it has became to such, a theory developed into a fact. We can not, nor would it be proper in this work, to enter into a discussion of this kind, as it would take volumes to describe the nicely woven evidence; the discoveries that Geology has wrought; the Mythology and traditions of the ancients; the evidences which discovery has brought to light, and the analysis of the races of mankind. The reader, through research, must form his own views as to the existence of Atlantis.

It is probable that in time the Negro race spread over all of Africa, and for aught we know, constituted the aboriginal inhabitants of that country. In a very remote time these people were driven out of Egypt, and subdued by bands of emigrants from Asia, and settled in Ethiopia, and gradually relapsed into semi-barbarism, in which state we find by recent discoveries that some of the tribes exist. The ancient history of this people is shrouded in obscurity. Only here and there we get a glimpse of their ancient greatness. The great loss to mankind by the burning of the Library at Alexandria, containing 700,000 volumes, can never be replaced, for by it is lost all history that antedated that of the Jews.

Africa, like Europe and America, evidences a commingling of different stocks: the blacks are not all black, nor all woolly-haired; the Africans pass through all shades, from that of the

light Berber, no darker than the Spaniard, to the deep black Jolofs, between Senegal and Gambia.

But the general consent of mankind points to the region of Central Asia as having been the original seat from which the human race dispersed itself over the globe; and accordingly it is this region, and especially the western portion of it, which we find to have been the theatre of the earliest recorded transactions. In short, it was in Central Asia that the first large mass of ripened humanity was accumulated—a great central nucleus of human life, so to speak, constantly enlarging, and from which emissaries streamed out over the globe in all directions. In process of time, this great central mass, having swollen out till it filled Asia and Africa, broke up into three fragments—thus giving parentage to the three leading varieties into which ethnographers divide the human species—the Caucasian, the Mongolian, and the Ethiopian or Negro—the Caucasians overspreading southern and western Asia; the Mongolians overspreading northern and eastern Asia; and the Ethiopians overspreading Africa. From these three sources streamed forth branches which, intermingling in various proportions, have constituted the various nations of the earth.

Differing from each other in physiological characteristics, the three great varieties of human species have also differed widely in their historical career. The germs of a grand progressive development seem to have been implanted specially in the Caucasian variety, the parent stock of all the great civilized nations of ancient and modern times. History, therefore, has hitherto concerned itself chiefly with this variety; in the evolution of whose destinies the true thread of human progress is to be found. But as it is not the author's purpose to record the early development of this highly endowed variety of our species in the nations of antiquity, our observations are confined to the Ethiopian who began the race of life along with the Caucasian, and whose destiny, doubtless, whatever may have been his historical function hitherto, is involved in some pro found and beautiful manner with the bearing of the race as a whole.

The early Greek historians and poets were familiar with the cities and people of Ethiopia, and it is from them that we deduce their ancient history. Herodotus and Strabo both make mention of Meroe; by the former it is said to be still an existing city, and by the latter to be a formerly existing seat of royalty and centre of the Ethiopian reilgion and civilization. Ephorus, too (B. C. 405), seems to have had a very great impression of the Ethiopians, as he mentions them among the most mighty and numerous people of the known earth. Already in Strabo's time, however, their ancient powers had been gone for an indefinite period, and the Negro States found themselves, after Meroe had ceased to be a religious capital, almost in the same situation as that in which they still continue. But a thorough insight into the history of the Ethiopian race can only be fully elucidated when the interpretation of the inscriptions onEgyptian monuments shall have been farther advanced. Herodotus expressly says that a great portion of the Egyptians of his time had black skins and woolly hair. Not this notice only, but the express testimony also of the Hebrew annals, shows Egypt to have contained an abundance of Negroes, and mentions a conquering King invading it at the head of a Negro host, and governing it for a considerable time. Some years ago a traveler, Mr. G. A. Hoskins, visited the site of the capital State of ancient Ethiopia, an island, if it may be so called, about 300 miles long, enclosed within two forking branches of the Nile. He found in it several distinct groups of magnificent pyramidal structures. Of one ruin he says: "Never were my feelings more ardently excited than in approaching, after so tedious a journey, to this magnificent necropolis. The appearance of the pyramids in the distance announced their importance; but I was gratified beyond my most sanguine expectations when I found myself in the midst of them. The pyramids of Gizeh are magnificent, wonderful, from their stupendous magnitude; but for picturesque effect and elegance of architectural design, I infinitely prefer those of Meroe. I expected to find few such remains here, and certainly nothing so imposing, so interesting as these sepulchres, doubtless of the Kings

and Queens of Ethiopia. I stood for some time lost in admiration. This, then, was the necropolis, or city of the dead! But where was the city itself, Meroe, its temples and palaces? A large space, about 2000 feet in length, and the same distance from the river, strewed with burnt brick and some fragments of walls and stones, similar to those used in the erection of the pyramids, formed, doubtless, part of that celebrated site. The idea that this is the exact situation of the city is strengthened by the remark of Strabo, that the walls of the habitations were built of bricks. These indicate, without doubt, the site of that cradle of the arts which distinguished a civilized from a barbarous society. Of the birth-place of the arts and sciences. the wild natives of the adjacent villages have made a miserable burying-place; of the city of the learned—'its cloud-capped towers,' its 'gorgeous palaces,' its 'solemn temples'—there is 'left not a rack behind.' The sepulchres alone of her departed Kings have fulfilled their destination of surviving the habitations which their philosophy taught them to consider inns, and are now fast mouldering into dust, and scarcely a trace of a palace or a temple is to be seen." The foregoing observations may be summed up in this proposition: That in the most remote antiquity, Africa was overspread by the Negro variety of the human species; that in those parts of the Continent to which the knowledge of the ancient geographers did not extend—namely, all South of Egypt and the Great Desert—the Negro race dispersed into tribes, kingdoms, etc., constituted a great savage system within its own torrid abode, similar to that which, even now, we are vainly attempting to penetrate; while the pure Ethiopian himself retired from historic view into Central Africa, where he lay concealed, till again in modern times he was dragged forth to become the slave of the Caucasian.*

* Had historians been able to pursue the Negro race into their Central African jungles and deserts, they would no doubt have found the general Ethiopic mass breaking up there under the operation of causes connected with climate, soil, food, etc., into vast sections or subdivisions, and marked differences from each other.

Mungo Park explored the Niger and was lost or killed in descending the river in1806. Then began a series of explorations toward the source of the Nile, which gradually brought to light the hidden mysteries of that country. Central Africa has been aptly termed the heart of the Dark Continent, as it has only been of recent years that any intelligible account of its natural characteristics have been presented to the public.

Adventuresome explorers have one after another endeavored to fathom the mysteries of the almost impenetrable region, in their laudable desire to add to the knowledge of mankind. But one after another have been baffled when almost within reach of the goal they so dearly coveted. The great Nile, which sends its volume of water down from the great equatorial region, where all was supposed to be a sterile wilderness, became a great puzzle to scientists. Dr. Livingstone was the first to make an exploration of the Zambesi, and found a labyrinthine network of rivers lying between the 10th and 20th parallel. From this his attention was directed further west, and the great water courses and water sheds of the equatorial region will forever link his name with history. Speke, Baker and Burton played their important part in unraveling the mysteries of the unexplored region. Livingstone verified and added to their discoveries, and, later on, the American journalist, Stanley, traversed the region never before familiar to white men, and traced the Congo to its source.

One of the first and bravest of men who have devoted themselves to an exploration of a great portion of Africa was a Scotchman named Mungo Park, who was born on the 10th of September, 1771, in an obscure little village on the banks of the Yarrow river in Scotland. The occupation of his father was that of a farmer, and although he was blessed with thirteen other children, he was able to give young Mungo an average education, and to apprentice him to a surgeon in his fifteenth year. After his time expired, he entered the University of Edinburgh, and made rapid progress in the higher studies. His summer vacations were devoted to a study of botany in the Scotch Highlands.

His education being completed, he moved to London, intending to establish himself in that great city of four millions, as a surgeon. Through his brother-in-law he had the good fortune to become acquainted with a gentleman by the name of Banks, the patron of so many travelers, and through whose recommendation he was appointed surgeon to an East Indiaman ship. In this capacity he made a voyage to Sumatra, and on his return wrote a description of eight new fishes of that island.

About this time an African exploring association, of which Mr. Banks was a very active and zealous member, was desirous of engaging a person to go to Africa, who could stand the climate, and conciliate and make progress with the natives.

Park at once offered his services, which, after mature deliberation, were accepted, and the association fitted him for his perilous journey in the most liberal manner. In the latter part of May, 1795, he departed from England in a swift sailing vessel. On his arrival in Africa he was directed to pass on to the river Niger, by such route as should be found most convenient, and that he should ascertain the course, and, if possible, the rise and termination of the river; that he should use his utmost exertions to visit the principal towns and cities in its neighborhood; and that he should afterward be at liberty to return to Europe, by such route as under all then existing circumstances of his situation and prospects should appear to him to be the most advisable.

After a voyage of thirty days he arrived at a little town on the northern bank of the Gambia river in the kingdom of Barra, Africa. After remaining at this place two days he proceeded up the river, in the waters of which were found immense numbers of fish, of unknown species, together with alligators and hippopotami, whose teeth furnish excellent ivory. Park, having quitted the ship, proceeded on his journey by land, until he reached the King of Yam's dominions, where he found an English doctor by the name of Laidley, at whose home he took up his residence, until he should be able to prosecute his journey into the interior.

His first care was to render himself master of the Mandingo language, which in the western part of Africa is in general use, and to collect from every source within his power information respecting the unknown and unexplored countries he was about to visit. In learning the strange Mandingo language his progress depended on his own application; but he soon found that little or no reliance could be placed on accounts of the interior by the natives of the King of Yam's land, who, on the most material points, were frequently in direct contradiction with each other. Park's anxiety to examine and judge for himself all about the strange land beyond was therefore greatly increased; but all of a sudden the rainy season now commenced, thereby rendering traveling impossible; and another equally efficient bar to the prosecution of his journey presented itself: in observing an eclipse of the moon he imprudently exposed himself to the night dew, and the next day he found himself attacked by fever and delirium, the commencement of an illness that with a very trifling intermission confined him during two months within doors.

Having been disappointed in his expectations of proceeding with a slave caravan toward Bambarra, Park departed from the King of Yam's land on December 2d, 1795. He had been provided with an intelligent colored servant named Johnson, who had been many years in Great Britain, and understood both the English and Mandingo languages; a colored boy named Demba also accompanied him. This boy was the property of Doctor Laidley, who promised Demba his freedom upon his return, if his behavior was of the proper character. Besides these, Park was accompanied by four other colored men, furnished by the King of Yam, who, though entirely independent of his control, were made to understand by the King that their safe return to his dominions would depend upon the white traveler's preservation.

Park's equipment was by no means magnificent. A horse for himself, two mules for his servants, provisions for two days, a small assortment of beads, amber and tobacco, a few changes of linen and other apparel, an umbrella, a pocket

astronomical instrument, a magnetic compass, a thermometer, two guns, two pair of pistols, and some other small articles. His friends in the King of Yam's land accompanied him during the first ten days, and then, dismissing him on his way, took their leave, secretly persuaded that they would never see him more.

After journeying all day through a wild and picturesque region, toward evening they found themselves in a heavy woods, when suddenly a body of colored people presented themselves in a clamorous manner before him, demanding custom dues, in default of which they threatened to carry him before their King. It immediately occurred to Park that he was now across the boundary line of another kingdom, and that extreme caution was necessary in dealing with the new people. To escape from the honor of being taken before their King, which might have proved a very costly one, Park kindly presented them with a little tobacco, upon which they were contented, and willingly allowed him to proceed.

After proceeding further he ascertained he had reached the kingdom of Woolli, and that the capital was named Medina, and in it resided the King. He therefore determined to proceed to the capital, and that it would be prudent to present himself to the King, as he was about to hold a reception. The benevolent old chief received the white stranger and his guides with great courtesy, and not only gave him permission to traverse his dominions, but assured him that he would offer up prayers for his safety, partly to secure which, he furnished him with a trusty guide.

Having bade the King at Medina an affectionate farewell, he next safely reached the frontiers of the Woolli dominions. Park dismissed the guide which the Woolli King so kindly furnished him; and being about to enter a new and strange land interspersed with deserts, in which water is frequently not to be procured, he hired three experienced colored elephant hunters, who were at once to serve as guides and water bearers.

The three elephant hunters with great agility immediately

proceeded to fill their calabashes with water, which work being accomplished, the entire party struck off into the wilderness just as the sun was appearing above the horizon.

After crossing the first desert they reached the kingdom of Boudon, of which Tulika and Fatteconda were the principal towns. As the King resided in Fatteconda, Park determined to pay him a visit. Accordingly he employed a kind of custom house officer to accompany him to Fatteconda, the residence of the King. On his arrival at the King's palace he was received by the colored chief with much apparent kindness, although he had heard in his passage through the country that this same King was of a ferocious and warlike disposition. The good, old chief, however, was so completely captivated by Park's best blue coat and gilt buttons that he could not resist the temptation to ask for it. It was cheerfully given to him; but he endeavored in some measure to remunerate the white stranger for his loss by a present of five drachms of gold, and by altogether abstaining from examining his baggage, or exacting any other present than what was willingly bestowed.

The territory of these African chiefs, who are properly denominated kings, is exceeding limited in extent. Your road conducts you to-day through one kingdom, to-morrow through another, and the next day through a third, which, of all those circumstances that obstruct the movements of the traveler in Africa, is perhaps the most vexatious, and the most difficult to overcome, for the different kingdoms that lie in his way deprive him of passing through them all on equal terms, owing to the peculiar nature and laws of the community and of the rulers over them.

Late in December the explorers left Fatteconda, but in that afternoon Park was informed that he was about out of the kingdom of Boudon, and was entering into a new country called Kajaaga, a very dangerous country for travelers, and that it would be necessary to continue the journey by night until they would reach a part of the country where the people were kind and hospitable. He agreed to the proposal and hired two men as guides through the woods, and as soon as it was

dark they set out. The moon now rose in magnificent splendor and cast a flood of golden glory over a wild and wonderful country. The stillness of the soft air, the dreadful howling of the wild beasts and the deep solitude of the majestic forest, made the scene solemn, weird and impressive. Not a word was uttered by any one of them but in a whisper; all were attentive, and every one anxious to show his sagacity by pointing out to the white traveler the wolves and hyenas as they glided like shadows from one thicket to another. Toward morning they arrived at a village called Kimmoo, when their guides awakened one of their acquaintance, and the explorers stopped to give their mules some corn and roast themselves a few ground nuts, and partake of the wild fruit. The journey being resumed, the strangers arrived at Joag in the afternoon, it being the chief town in the kingdom of Kajaaga.

On arriving at Joag our explorer, who had taken up his residence at the house of the chief man of the town, was favored with an opportunity of observing the genuine character of the colored man of this part of Africa. The same evening, says he, "Madiboo, one of the colored guides who had accompanied me from the King of Yam's dominions, went to pay a visit to his aged father and mother, who dwelt in a neighboring town called Dramauet. He was joined by my other attendant, who had learned the trade of blacksmith before leaving with me, and as soon as it was dark I was invited to see the sports of the inhabitants, it being the custom, on the arrival of strangers, to welcome them by diversions of different kinds. I found a great crowd surrounding a party who were dancing gracefully by the light of some large fires to the music of four drums, which were beat with astonishing exactness and uniformity."

At Joag, while preparing to advance further into Africa, he was honored with a visit from the King's son, accompanied by a troop of splendidly equipped horsemen. As they all spoke the Mandingo language fluently, they made many inquires about England and Europe in general, and of the beautiful but far-off land across the sea, meaning America, and if the

people in those far-off countries had the same complexion as the white brother. Before leaving the little party, however, the King's son, in behalf of that Monarch, urged Park and his guides to visit his father's palace at Kajaaga, but, owing to its great distance, our explorer reluctantly declined the high honor conferred. The King's son now embraced each member of the exploring party and bade them adieu, and mounting his horse, richly bedecked with ostrich feathers, waved his hat to his men, and in a few moments they disappeared from sight, moving in the direction of Kimmoo.

The party now took up their journey, and at the end of the day Joag was far in the distance. They had all this time been passing through a wild, monotonous country, with but an occasional solitary village and few inhabitants. Toward evening their supply of food was almost exhausted and water was nowhere to be found. In this extremity they reached a little village consisting of three huts, a few women and a band of goats. Here they discovered they were entirely out of food and would have to wait some opportunity of purchasing or begging provisions. At this moment, while Park was sitting down chewing straws, an old woman, who observed him in passing by, was moved with compassion and presented him with a quantity of ground nuts and goat's milk, which he divided among his guides, which was a very seasonable supply.

Scarcely had the old woman left him before he received information that the nephew of the King of Kasson, who had been sent by his uncle on an embassy to the King of Kajaaga, and was now returning to his own country, was about to pay him a visit. He came accordingly, and upon Park's representing to him his situation and distress, kindly offered to be his guide and protector as far as Kasson. With him, therefore, our traveler now continued his route to the banks of the Senegal, upon crossing which, his royal guide, who, like other guides, required a present for his services, informed him they were in his uncle's dominions and in complete safety.

Safe or not safe, however, Park soon found that the stranger and the traveler were nowhere beyond the reach of extortion.

Half of the little property that had not been touched by the kind Kajaaga people was here taken from him. He was then permitted to depart. Among the honest colored guides with whom he had set out on his journey from the King of Yàm's dominions, there was a blacksmith from the interior, who, having amassed some little money upon the coast, was now returning to spend the remainder of his days in his native land.

Shortly after quitting a village called Teesee, the last place where our traveler had submitted to legal robbery, he and his companions came within sight of the blacksmith's village. The news of his return had, it seems, preceded him; his brother, accompanied by a singing man, came forth to welcome the wanderer home, and brought along with him a horse, that the blacksmith "might enter his native town in a dignified manner." Park and his companions were desired to put a good charge of powder into their guns. The singing man led the way; the two brothers followed; and the cavalcade was quickly joined by a considerable number of the inhabitants, who, by extravagant gestures and songs of triumph, testified their joy at the return of their townsman. Park says: "When we arrived at the blacksmith's place of residence, we dismounted and fired our muskets. The meeting between him and his relations was very tender; for these rude children of nature, freed from restraint, displayed their emotions in the strongest and most expressive manner. Amid these transports the blacksmith's aged mother was brought forth leaning upon a staff.

"Every one made way for her; and she stretched out her hands to bid her son welcome. Being totally blind, she stroked his hands, and arms, and face with great care, and seemed highly delighted that her latter days were blessed by his return, and that her ears once more heard the music of his voice. From this affectionate interview I was convinced that whatever difference there is between an African and Caucasian in the conformation of the nose, and the color of their skin, there is none whatever in genuine sympathies and characteristic feelings of our common nature.

"During the tumult of these congratulations, I had seated myself apart, by the side of one of the huts, being unwilling to interrupt the flow of filial and parental tenderness; and the attention of the company was so entirely taken up with the blacksmith, that I believe that none of his friends had observed me. When all the people present had seated themselves, the blacksmith was desired by his father to give some account of his adventures; and silence being commanded, he began, and after repeatedly thanking God for the success that had attended him, related every material occurrence that had happened to him from his leaving Kasson to his arrival at the Gambia river; his employment and success in those parts, and the dangers he had escaped in returning to his native country. In the latter part of his narration he had frequent occasion to mention me; and after many strong expressions concerning my kindness to him, he pointed to the place where I was, and exclaimed, speaking in the Mandingo language, '*Affille ibi siring*,' which translated into English means, 'See him sitting there.' In a moment all eyes were turned towards the little hut where I sat; I appeared like a being dropped from the clouds; every one was surprised that they had not observed me before, and a few women and children expressed great uneasiness at being so near a man of uncommon appearance, as I was the first white man they ever beheld. By degrees, however, their apprehensions subsided, and when the blacksmith assured them that I was perfectly inoffensive, some of them ventured so far as to examine the texture of my clothes, but many of them were still very suspicious, and when by accident I happened to move myself, or look at the young children, their mothers would scamper off with them with the greatest precipitation. In the course of a few hours, however, they all became reconciled to me."

With those kind and honest people Park remained during the whole of that day and the next, and then, accompanied by the worthy blacksmith, who declared that he would not quit him during his stay in that part of the country, set forward toward Kooniakary. On his arrival at this city, he obtained

an audience of the King, a fine old man, who, for his conduct, both in peace and war, was greatly beloved by his subjects. His behavior toward the white stranger was not inconsistent with his character. He informed him, with apparent regret, that the direct route to Bambarra was about to be closed by war; but, after vainly advising his guest to retrace his footsteps, added that there yet remained some hopes of peace, respecting the validity of which he should be able to pronounce an opinion in the course of four or five days. In the meantime he invited Park to remain in the neighborhood.

On the first of February, 1796, the King's messenger returned from the adjacent Kingdom of Kaarta, bringing intelligence that the Bambarra army had not yet entered the country, and that it was possible the traveler might be enabled to traverse it before the invasion took place. Accordingly, being provided with two guides by the King, Park took leave of his friend, the blacksmith, and set forward on his dangerous journey. The country, at all times thickly peopled, now swarmed with fugitives, whom the fear of the Bambarrans had terrified from their homes. The scenery in many places was romantically wild. "On coming in sight of the mountains of Footado, we traveled," says Park, "with great difficulty down a stony and abrupt precipice, and continued our way in the bed of a dried river course, where the trees meeting over our heads made the place dark and cool. In a little time we reached the bottom of this romantic glen, and about ten o'clock emerged from between two rocky hills and found ourselves on the level and sandy plains of Kaarta. At noon we arrived at a korree, or watering place, where for a few strings of beads I purchased as much milk and corn meal as we could eat, and which are here so cheap and the shepherds live in such affluence that they seldom ask any pay for what refreshment a traveler receives from them."

From this place, having prevailed upon his landlord, an intelligent African, to accompany him as a guide to Kimmoo, Park set forward on the 11th of February. He gives the following narrative: "We had no sooner got into a dark and

lonely part of the first wood, than he made a sign for us to stop; and taking hold of a hollow piece of bamboo that hung as an amulet round his neck, whistled very loud three times. I confess I was somewhat startled, thinking it was a signal for some of his companions to come and attack us, but he assured me it was done merely with a view to ascertain what success we were likely to meet with on our present journey. He then dismounted, laid his spear across the road, and said a number of short prayers, concluding with three loud whistles; after which he listened for some time, as if in expectation of an answer, and receiving none, told us we might proceed without fear, for there was no danger."

Adventures now appeared to come thick upon the party. The country through which their road lay being thickly sprinkled with wild fruit trees, they amused themselves, as they rode slowly along, with picking and eating the fruit. "In this pursuit," says Park, "I had wandered a little from my people, and being uncertain whether they were before or behind me, I hastened to a rising ground to look about me. As I was proceeding toward this eminence, two African horsemen, armed with guns, came galloping from among the bushes. On seeing them, I made a full stop; the horsemen did the same; and all three of us seemed equally surprised and confounded at this interview. As I approached them, and seeing that I was white, their fears increased, and one of them, after casting a look of horror on me, rode off at full speed; the other, in a panic of fear, put his hand over his eyes, and continued muttering prayers until his horse, seemingly without his rider's knowledge, conveyed him slowly after his companion. About a mile to the westward they fell in with my attendants, to whom they related a frightful story. It seems their fears had dressed me in flowing robes of a tremendous white spirit; and one of them affirmed that when I made my appearance, a cold blast of wind came pouring down upon him from the sky like so much cold water."

Shortly after this they arrived at Kaarta, where he was an object of such extraordinary curiosity to the populace—the

majority of whom had never seen a white man—that they burst forcibly into his hut, crowd after crowd. Those who beheld the white monster gave way to those who had not, until, as he observes, the hut was filled and emptied thirteen different times. Here he found out that the war with Bambarra had actually commenced; that all communication between the countries had consequently ceased; and that, if it was his determination to persevere, it would be necessary to take a circuitous route through the kingdom of Ludamar. The people of Kaarta belonged to the Mohammedan church, but instead of the fine sonorous voice of the Muezzin, by which the members of that faith are summoned to their devotions elsewhere, the hour of prayer was here announced by the beating of drums, and blowing through large elephants' teeth hollowed out in such a manner as to resemble bugle horns. The sound of these horns Park thought melodious, and approaching nearer to the human voice than any other artificial sound. Being very desirous to depart from the seat of war, he presented his horse pistols and holsters to the King; and on pressing to be dismissed, received in return an escort of eight horsemen to conduct him to Jarra. Three of the King's sons, with two hundred horsemen, kindly undertook to accompany him a little way on his journey.

On his arrival at Jarra, in the Kingdom of Ludamar, he dispatched a messenger to the King, who was then encamped near Benowm, soliciting permission to pass unmolested through his territories; and having waited fourteen days for his reply, a slave at length arrived from the chief, affirming that he had been instructed to conduct the traveler in safety as far as Goomba. His faithful and intelligent colored man, Johnson, who had accompanied him thus far from the King of Yam's land, here refused to follow him any further, and signified his intention of pushing back without delay to the Gambia river, upon which Park, fearful of the success of his enterprise, intrusted him with a copy of his journal, reserving another for himself, directing him to deliver the papers to the English on the coast. A portion of his baggage and apparel he committed

to the care of a slave merchant at Jarra, who was known to Dr. Laidley. He then departed with his slave boy, accompanied by the King's messenger. On the road he was robbed by coloredMohammedans, who added insult to violence; and when he was nearly famishing from thirst, they beat away his faithful slave from the wells without permitting him to draw a particle of water.

However, after much fatigue and extraordinary privations, they arrived in the King's camp at Benowm, when Park was immediately surrounded by crowds of fanatical colored men, all belonging to the Mohammedan church, attracted partly by curiosity to see a white man, and partly from a desire to vent their fierce zeal against a Christian.

"My arrival at Benowm," says he, "was no sooner observed than the people who drew water at the wells threw down their buckets; those in the tents mounted their horses, and men, women and children came running or galloping toward me. I soon found myself surrounded by such a crowd that I could scarcely move; one pulled my clothes, another took off my hat; a third stopped me to examine my waistcoat buttons, and a fourth called out, '*La illah il allah, Mohammed rossool allah*' ('There is no god but God, and Mohammed is His prophet'), and signified in a threatening manner that I must repeat those words.

"We reached at length the King's tent, where we found a great number of people, men, women and children, assembled. The King was sitting on a black leathern cushion, clipping a few hairs from his upper lip, a female attendant holding up a looking-glass before him. He appeared to be an old man, with long white beard, and he had a sullen and indignant aspect. He surveyed me with attention, and enquired of his people if I could speak their language; he appeared much surprised, and continued silent. The surrounding attendants, and particularly the ladies, were abundantly more inquisitive; they asked a thousand questions, inspected every part of my apparel, searched my pockets, and compelled me to unbutton my waistcoat and display the whiteness of my skin; they even counted

my toes and fingers, as if they doubted whether I was in truth a human being."

The King now, with the base idea of insulting an unprotected Christian stranger, ordered a wild boar to be brought in, which he signified his desire that Park should kill and eat. This, well knowing their religious prejudices, he, of course, refused to do; upon which the boys who led in the boar were commanded to let it loose upon him, the colored Mohammedans supposing that there exists an inveterate feud between pigs and Christians, and that it would immediately run upon and gore him. The boar, however, was not such a fool. Scorning to attack a defenseless stranger, he no sooner found himself at liberty, than, brandishing his tusks at the natives, he rushed at them indiscriminately, and then, to complete their consternation, took shelter under the very couch upon which the tyrant was sitting.

This bold proceeding of the unclean beast dissolved the assembly, and the traveler was led away to the tent of a slave, in front of which, not being permitted to enter, he received a little food. Here he likewise passed the night, lying on the sand, surrounded by the curious multitude. Next day, a hut, constructed with corn stalks, was given to him, but the boar, which had been recaptured, was tied to a stake in the end of it, as his fittest companion.

By degrees, however, these fanatics began to conceive that the white Christian might, in one way or another, be rendered useful, but could think of no better employment for him than that of a barber. In this capacity he made his first attempt, in the presence of the King, on the head of the young Prince of Ludamar. This dignified office he had no desire to monopolize, and his unskillfulness in performing the operation, for he almost at the outset made an incision in the young Prince's head, causing royal blood to flow, which quickly reduced him once more to the rank of a common mortal.

The King, however, seemed by no means desirous of dispensing altogether with his services, wishing, perhaps, to preserve him from the same motives which induce us to preserve a wild

beast; and, therefore, to render his escape the more impracticable, took possession of the whole of his baggage, including his gold, amber, watch, and one of his pocket compasses; the other he had fortunately buried in the sand composing the floor of his hut.

"The gold and the amber were highly gratifying to the King's avarice, but the pocket compass soon became an object of superstitious curiosity. The old King was very desirous to be informed why that small piece of iron, the needle, always pointed to the Great African Desert, and I found myself somewhat puzzled to answer the question. To have pleaded my ignorance would have created a suspicion that I wished to conceal the real truth from him; I therefore told him that my mother resided far beyond the sands of the Great Desert, and that while she was alive the piece of iron would always point that way, and serve as a guide to conduct me to her; and that if she was dead it would point to her grave. The King now examined the compass with redoubled amazement, turned it round and round repeatedly, but observing that it always pointed the same way, he took it up with great caution and returned it to me, manifesting that he thought there was something of magic in it, and that he was afraid of keeping so dangerous an instrument in his possession."

It now began to be debated between the King and his advisers what should be done with the prisoner. Their decisions were very dissimilar. Some were of the opinion the white man should be put to death; others that he should merely lose his right hand, while a third party thought that his eyes ought to be put out. The King himself, however, determined that matters should remain as they were until his queen Fatima, then in the north, had seen him.

Meanwhile all these reports were related to our traveler, and tended not a little to distress and agitate his mind. His demand to be permitted to depart was formally refused. The accumulated horror of his situation, united with the want of food and sleep, at length brought on a fever, by which his life was endangered. But his persecution from the fanatical

colored Mohammedans did not therefore cease. They plucked his coat from him, they overwhelmed him with insults, they tortured him like some ferocious animal, for their amusement. and when, to escape from this detested thraldom, he crawled away a short distance from the camp, he was forced back by menaces and violence.

At length, after more than a month's detention at Benowm, he was commanded to follow the King to the northern encampment of Bubaker, on the skirts of the Great Desert, and on the way endured the extremity of hunger, thirst, and fatigue. Upon arriving at Bubaker, he was shown as a strange white animal to Queen Fatima, who, though far from being exempt from the Mohammedan prejudices against a Christian, or in any remarkable degree disposed to humanity, still treated him with somewhat greater lenity than the rest of the colored fanatics; and upon the departure of her husband for Jarra, not only obtained him permission to join the party, but prevailed upon her hard-hearted husband to restore him his horse, saddle, and bridle, together with a part of his clothing. The faithful colored boy Demba, furnished him by Dr. Laidley, at the time he took his departure from the King of Yam's land, was here taken from him, notwithstanding Park's animated remonstrances to the King, who, upon pressing the point rather warmly, only replied, that if he did not instantly mount his horse and depart he should share the fate of Demba.

"There is something in the frown of a tyrant," says Park, "which rouses the most secret emotions of the heart; I could not suppress my feelings, and for once entertained an indignant wish to rid the world of such a monster. Poor, faithful Demba was not less affected than myself; he had formed a strong attachment toward me, and had a cheerfulness of disposition which often beguiled the tedious hours of captivity. He had likewise learned to speak the Bambarra language fluently, and promised on that account to be of great assistance to me in the future. But it was in vain to expect anything favorable to humanity from a people who are strangers to its dictates. So having shaken hands with this unfortunate boy, and blended

my tears with his, assuring him, however, I would do my best to redeem him from the colored Mohammedans, I saw him led off in chains by three of the King's slaves toward the camp of Bubaker."

CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT AND MODERN LIFE IN AFRICA.

"And he who 's doom'd o'er waves to roam,
Or wander on a foreign strand,
Will sigh whene'er he thinks of home,
And better love his native land."

UPON his arrival at Jarra, where he was shortly afterward transferred by the King to tyrants of a lower grade, his condition, far from being improved, was only rendered the more intolerable. The city itself, moreover, was in a state of the utmost confusion. Malcontents from Kaarta, having taken refuge there, had recently made an incursion into their native country, carried off a large quantity of plunder, and thus drawn the vengeance of their King against the city. All those who had occasion to dread his resentment were now, therefore, preparing to flee into Bambarra; and Park, whose route lay in the same direction, became exceedingly desirous of effecting his escape from the colored Mohammedans, and that he might seize upon this fortunate occasion of fulfilling the object of his mission. "Their departure," says he, speaking of the colored fugitives, "was very affecting: the women and children crying, the men sullen and dejected, and all of them looking back with regret on their native town, and on the walls and rocks beyond which their ambition had never tempted them to stray, and where they had laid all their plans of future happiness, all of which they were now forced to abandon, and to seek shelter among strangers."

Hoping to escape in this confused throng, he mounted his horse, and taking a bag of corn before him, rode slowly off along with the townspeople. On their arrival at a village at no great distance from the city, Park began to flatter himself that he had really eluded the vigilance of his persecutors, but before the agreeable idea had got a firm footing in his mind, he saw the King's chief slave, accompanied by four colored

Mohammedans, arrive and take up their lodgings with the chief. The colored man (mentioned in the preceding pages) Johnson, Park's interpreter, who had been captured by the King's men before he could escape from Jarra, suspecting the design of this visit, sent two boys to overhear their conversation, by which means he learned that it was their intention to make a prisoner of Park, and carry him back to Bubaker. Upon learning this, he at once came to the desperate resolution to effect that very night his deliverance from his pursuers, or to perish in the attempt. Johnson, who applauded this determination, but wanted the courage to imitate it, was nevertheless exceedingly well disposed to aid in effecting his master's escape. He therefore undertook to keep watch upon the movements of the enemy, while Park was preparing for flight. About midnight he got all his clothing in readiness, which consisted of two shirts, two pair of trousers, two pocket handkerchiefs, an upper and under waistcoat, a hat, a pair of half boots, and a cloak. Besides these things he had not in his possession a single bead or any other article with which to purchase food for himself or provender for his horse. "About daybreak, Johnson, who had been listening to the colored Mohammedans all night, came," says he, "and whispered to me that they were all asleep. The awful crisis was now arrived when I was again either to taste the blessings of freedom, or languish out my days in bondage."

"A cold sweat moistened my forehead as I thought of the dreadful alternative, and reflected that, one way or the other, my fate must be decided in the course of the ensuing day. But to deliberate was to lose the only chance of escaping. So taking up my bundle, I stepped gently over my colored pursuers, who were sleeping in the open air, and having mounted my horse, I bade Johnson farewell, desiring him to take particular care of my papers I had entrusted him with, and inform my friends on the Gambia that he had left me in good health on my way to Bambarra. I proceeded with great caution, surveying each bush, and frequently listening and looking behind me for the colored horsemen, until I was about a mile from the

town, when I was surprised to find myself in the neighborhood of a korree, belonging to colored Mohammedans. The shepherds followed me for about a mile, hooting and throwing stones after me; and when I was out of their reach, and began to indulge the pleasing hope of escaping, I was again greatly alarmed to hear some one halloo behind me, and looking back, I saw three colored fanatics on horseback coming after me at full speed, whooping and brandishing their double-barreled guns. I knew it was in vain to think of escaping, and therefore turned back and met them, when two of them caught hold of my bridle, one on each side, and the third, presenting his gun, told me I must go back to the King.

"It soon appeared, however, that these three horsemen were merely private robbers who were fearful that their master, the King, had not sufficiently pillaged the stranger; for, after examining my bundle and robbing me of my cloak, they bade me begone, and follow them no further." Too happy to be rid of the villains at any rate, Park immediately struck into the woods and continued his journey.

His joy at thus escaping from the colored Mohammedans was quickly damped by the consideration that he must soon be in want of both food and water, neither of which could he procure without approaching villages or wells, where he would almost inevitably encounter his old enemies. He therefore pushed on with all the vigor of which he was possessed, in the hope of reaching some town or village of the kingdom of Bambarra. But he already began to experience the tortures of thirst; his mouth was parched and inflamed; a sudden dimness, accompanied by symptoms of fainting, would frequently come over his eyes; and as his horse also was exceedingly fatigued, he began to apprehend that he should perish of thirst.

Some shrubs, the leaves of which he chewed to relieve the burning pain in his mouth and throat, were all found to be too bitter and of no service. "A little before sunset, having reached the top of a gentle eminence," says Park, "I climbed a high tree, from the topmost branches of which I cast a melancholy look

over the barren wilderness, but without discovering the most distant trace of a human dwelling. The same dismal uniformity of shrubs and sand everywhere presented itself, and the horizon was level and uninterrupted as that of the sea.

"Descending from the tree, I found my horse devouring the stubble and brushwood with great avidity; and as I was now too faint to attempt walking, and my horse too much fatigued to carry me, I thought it but an act of humanity, and perhaps the last I should ever have it in my power to perform, to take off his bridle and let him shift for himself; in doing which I was affected with sickness and giddiness; and falling upon the sand, felt as if the hour of death was fast approaching. Here then, I reflected, after a short, but ineffectual struggle, terminate all my hopes of being useful in my day and generation—here must the short span of my life come to an end. I cast, as I believed, a last look on the surrounding scene, and while I thought on the awful change that was about to take place, this world and its enjoyments seemed to vanish from my recollection. Nature, however, at length resumed its functions, and on recovering my senses, I found myself stretched upon the sand, with the bridle still in my hand, and the sun still sinking behind the trees. I now summoned all my resolution and determined to make another effort to prolong my existence; and as the evening was somewhat cool, I resolved to travel as far as my limbs would carry me, to the only thing that would save me, a watering place.

"With this view I put the bridle upon my horse, and driving him before me, went slowly along for about an hour, when I perceived some lightning from the northeast—a most delightful sight, for it promised rain. The darkness and lightning increased very rapidly, and in less than an hour, I heard the wind roaring behind the bushes. I had already opened my mouth to receive the refreshing drops which I expected; but I was instantly covered with a cloud of sand, driven with such force by the wind as to give a very disagreeable sensation to my face and arms, and I was obliged to mount my horse and stop under a bush to prevent being suffocated. The sand con-

tinued to fly for nearly an hour in amazing quantities, after which I again set forward, and traveled with difficulty until ten o'clock. About this time I was agreeably surprised by some very vivid flashes of lightning, followed by a few heavy drops of rain. In a little time the sand ceased to fly, and I alighted and spread out all my clean clothes to collect the rain, which at length I saw certainly would fall. For more than an hour it rained plentifully, and I quenched my thirst by wringing and sucking my clothes.

"There being no moon, it was remarkably dark; so that I was obliged to lead my horse, and direct my way by the compass, which the lightning enabled me to observe. In this manner I traveled with tolerable expedition till midnight; when the lightning became more distant, and I was under the necessity of groping along, to the no small danger of my hands and eyes. About two o'clock my horse started at something; and looking around, I was not a little surprised to see a light at a short distance among the trees, and supposing it to be a town, I groped along the sand in hopes of finding corn stalks, cotton, or other appearances of cultivation, but found none. As I approached, I perceived a number of other lights in different places, and began to suspect that I had fallen upon a party of colored Mohammedans. However, in my present situation, I was resolved to see who they were, if I could do it with safety.

"I accordingly led my horse cautiously toward the light, and heard, by the lowing of the cattle and the clamorous tongues of the herdsmen, that it was a watering-place, and most likely belonged to the colored Mohammedans. Delightful as the sound of the human voice was to me, I resolved once more to strike into the woods, and rather run the risk of perishing with hunger than trust myself again in their hands; but being still thirsty, and dreading the approach of the burning day, I thought it prudent to search for the wells, which I expected to find at no great distance. In this pursuit I inadvertently approached so near one of the tents as to be perceived by a woman, who immediately screamed out. The people came

running to her assistance from some of the neighboring tents, and passed so very near me that I thought I was discovered, and hastened again into the woods.

"About a mile from this place, I heard a loud and confused noise, somewhere to the right of my course, and in a short time was happy to find it was the croaking of frogs, which was heavenly music to my ears. I followed the sound and at daybreak arrived at some shallow, muddy pools, so full of frogs that it was difficult to discern the water. The noise they made frightened my horse, and I was obliged to keep them quiet by beating the water with a branch until he had drunk. Having here quenched my thirst, I ascended a tree, and the morning being clear, I soon perceived the smoke of the watering place which I had passed in the night, and observed another pillar of smoke, east, southeast, distant twelve or fourteen miles."

Toward this column of smoke, which, as he was informed, arose from a Foulah village, he now directed his course; but on arriving at the place, was inhospitably driven from every door, except that of an old colored woman, who kindly received him into her dwelling, and furnished him with food for himself and with provender for his horse. Even here, however, the evil influence of the old King pursued him like his evil genius. The people who had collected round him while he was eating, began, as he clearly discovered from their expressions, to form the design of carrying him back once more to Bubaker or Benowm. He, therefore, hastened his departure, and having wandered among the woods all day, passed the night under a tree. In this way he continued his journey, sometimes meeting with hospitality, but more frequently avoiding the dwellings of man, and subsisting upon the wild produce of the woods and the water of a few pools, to which the croaking of the frogs directed him.

At length he entered the kingdom of Bambarra, where he found the people more hospitable in proportion as they were more opulent than their neighbors. Cultivation was here carried on in a spirited manner, and on an extensive scale, and

"hunger," as the natives expressed it, "was never known." The country itself was beautiful, intersected on all sides by rivulets, which, after a rain storm, were swelled into rapid streams. Park's horse was now so attenuated by fatigue that it appeared like a mere skeleton, which the traveler, fearing to mount, drove before him, as if to scare away the crows. The Bambarrans, whose hospitable disposition was accompanied by but little delicacy, were infinitely amused at this droll spectacle. Taking him for a missionary, they supposed from his appearance that he must be one of those religious mendicants, who, having performed the pilgrimage to the holy cities, thenceforward consider themselves fully entitled to subsist upon the labors of their industrious co-religionists. "He has been at Mecca," said one, "you may see that by his clothes." "Another asked if my horse was sick, and a third one wished to buy it. So that I believe the very slaves were ashamed to be seen in my company."

However, in spite of all this ridicule and laughter, he proceeded on his way, and at length had the satisfaction to be informed that on the morrow he should see the Niger, denominated the Joliba, or the "Great Water," by the natives. Next morning, the 21st of July, after passing through several large villages, he saw the smoke ascend over Sego, the capital of Bambarra, and felt thrilled with joy at the thought of drawing near so important an object of his mission. "As we approached the town," says Park, "I was fortunate enough to overtake the fugitive Kaartans, to whose kindness I was so much indebted in my journey through Bambarra. They readily agreed to introduce me to the King, and we rode together through some marshy ground, where, as I anxiously looked around for the river, one of them called out, '*Geo affilli!*' ('See the water!') and looking forward, I saw with infinite pleasure the great object of my mission—the long-sought-for majestic Niger, glittering in the splendor of the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, England, and flowing slowly to the eastward. I hastened to the brink, and, having drunk of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer to the Great Ruler

of all things for having thus far crowned my endeavors with success."

Sego, the capital of Bambarra, consisted of four distinct towns, two on the northern, and two on the southern bank of the Niger. The King, at this period, resided on the southern bank, while Park had arrived on the opposite side. The communication between the different quarters of the city was kept up by means of large canoes, which were constantly passing and repassing; notwithstanding which, so great was the pressure of passengers, that Park was compelled to wait upward of two hours before he could even obtain a chance of being ferried across the Niger.

Meanwhile the prospect before him was novel and striking in the highest degree. "The view of this extensive city," he observes, "the numerous canoes on the river, the crowded population and the cultivated state of the surrounding country, formed all together a prospect of civilization and magnificence which I little expected to find in the bosom of Africa."

While he was thus waiting for a passage, the news was conveyed to King Mansong that a white man was on the banks of the river, coming to see him. The King was dreadfully alarmed at this intelligence, and immediately dispatched a messenger, who was directed to inform the stranger that he would not be admitted into the royal presence until the purport of his mission was made known; and that in the meanwhile he was prohibited from passing the river. He was likewise told that the King desired to seek lodgings in one of the villages in the vicinity of the capital. As there was no alternative, he at once set out for the village, where, to his great mortification, he found that no person would admit him into a house. "I was regarded with astonishment and fear," he observes, "and was obliged to sit all day without victuals in the shade of a tree, and the night threatened to be very uncomfortable, for the wind rose and there was a great appearance of a heavy rain; and the wild beasts were so very numerous in the neighborhood that I should have been under the necessity of climbing up a tree and resting among the branches.

About sunset, however, as I was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned my horse loose that he might graze at liberty, a woman, returning from the labors of the field, stopped to observe me, and perceiving that I was weary and dejected, inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle, and told me to follow her

"Having conducted me into her hut, she lighted up a lamp, spread a mat upon the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was very hungry, she said she would procure me something to eat; she accordingly went out and returned in a short time with a very fine fish, which, having caused it to be half broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The rites of hospitality being thus performed towards a stranger in distress, my worthy benefactress, pointing to the mat, and telling me I might sleep there without apprehension, called to the female part of her family, who had stood gazing on me all the while in fixed astonishment, to resume their task of spinning cotton, in which they continued to employ themselves a great part of the night. They lightened their labor by songs, one of which was composed on the occasion for me, as I was the subject of it; it was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a sort of chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive, and the words literally translated were these:

"The winds came and the rains fell;
The poor white man, faint and weary,
Came and sat under our tree.
He has no mother to bring him milk,
No wife to grind his corn."

CHORUS—"Let us pity the white man;
No mother has he to bring him milk,
No wife to grind his corn.

"This story may appear trifling to the reader, but to a person in my situation the circumstance was affecting in the highest degree. I was so oppressed by such unexpected kindness that sleep fled my eyes. In the morning I presented my compassionate landlady with two of the four brass buttons

which remained on my waistcoat, the only recompense I could make her."

Although Mansong refused to admit the traveler into his presence, and seemed at first to neglect him, it soon appeared that his conduct did not arise from any churlish or inhospitable feelings; for while he persisted in his refusal to see him, and signified his pleasure that he should forthwith depart from the city, he sent him a present of five thousand cowries, and a guide to Sansanding. Park immediately obeyed the royal command, and learned from the conversation of his guide on the way that the King's motives for thus dismissing him without an audience were at once prudent and liberal, since he feared that by the least show of favor he should excite the jealousy of the colored Mohammedan people, from whose inveterate malice he might be unable to protect him.

With his guide he proceeded to Sansanding, where he was hospitably received by the King, and would, as his stranger, have enjoyed much quiet and consideration, had he not the misfortune to meet some of his old enemies, the colored Mohammedans, who insisted on conducting him to their church and converting him into a Mohammedan at once. However, the King, by exerting his authority, freed him from these fanatics, and ordered a sheep to be killed and part of it dressed for his supper.

"About midnight, when the fanatics left me," says Park, "he paid me a visit, and with much earnestness desired me to write him a saphie, which means charm. 'If a colored man's saphie is good,' said this hospitable old man, 'a white man's must needs be better.' I readily furnished him with one possessed of all the virtues I could concentrate, for it contained the Lord's prayer. The pen with which it was written was made of a reed, a little charcoal and gum water made a very tolerable ink, and a thin board answered the purpose of paper."

From Sansanding he departed early in the morning, before his enemies were stirring. The road now lay through deep and dark woods, and the guide, who understood the dangers of the way, moved forward with the greatest circumspection,

frequently stopping and looking under the bushes. Upon observing this, Park inquired the reason, and was told that the lions were very plentiful in that part of the country, and often attacked travelers in the woods. While they were conversing on this subject, Park discovered a giraffe at a little distance. "Shortly after this," says he, "as we were crossing a large open plain, where there were a few scattered bushes, my guide, who was a little way before me, wheeled his horse round in a moment, calling out something in the Foulah language, which I did not understand.

"I inquired in Mandingo what he meant. *'Wara billi billi,'* said he, meaning, 'A very large lion,' and made signs for me to ride away. But my horse was too much fatigued, so we rode slowly past the bush from which the animal had given us the alarm. Not seeing anything myself, however, I thought my guide had been mistaken, when he suddenly put his hand to his mouth, exclaiming, 'God protect us!' and to my great surprise I then perceived a large red lion at a short distance from the bush, with his head couched between his fore paws. I expected he would instantly spring upon me, and instinctively pulled my feet from my stirrups to throw myself on the ground, that my horse might become the victim rather than myself. But it is probable the lion was not hungry, for he quietly allowed us to pass, though we were fairly in his reach."

About sunset they arrived at Modiloo, a delightful village on the banks of the Niger, commanding a view of the river for many miles, both to the east and west. "The small green islands, the peaceful retreat of the industrious colored peasants, whose cattle were here secure from the attack of wild beasts, and the majestic breadth of the river, which is here much larger than at Sego, render the situation one of the most enchanting in the world." Park was now so worn out with fatigue and suffering that his landlord, fearing he might die in his house, hurried him away, though he was scarcely able to walk, and his horse less able to carry him. In fact, they had not proceeded far before the animal fell down and could no more rise; so that, taking off his saddle and bridle, our traveler with

extreme reluctance abandoned him to his fate, and began to toil along on foot after his guide. In this way they reached Rea, a small fishing village on the Niger, where Park embarked in a fisherman's canoe, which was going down the stream, while the guide returned to Sego.

In this canoe he reached Moorzan, whence he was conveyed across the river to Silla, a large town on the opposite shore.

It was with great difficulty that he here obtained admission into the stranger's room of the King's house, a damp, uncomfortable place, where he had a severe paroxysm of fever during the night. Here his resolution and energy, of which no traveler possessed a greater share, began at length to fail. No hope of success remained.

He therefore, with extreme sorrow and anguish of mind, determined on returning. His own simple and manly account of the matter cannot fail to impress even the most insensible with veneration for a degree of courage and intrepidity amounting to heroism. "Worn down by sickness, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, half naked, and without any article of value by which I might procure provisions, clothes, or lodging, I began," says Park, "to reflect seriously on my situation. I was now convinced by painful experience that the obstacles to my further progress were insurmountable. The tropical rains had already set in with all their violence; the rice grounds and swamps were already overflowed; and in a few days more traveling of every kind, except by water, would be completely obstructed. The cowries (money) which remained of the King of Bambarra's present were not sufficient to hire a canoe for any great distance; and I had but little hopes of subsisting by charity in a country where the colored Mohammedans have such influence. But, above all, I perceived I was advancing more and more within the power of these merciless fanatics; and from my reception, both at Sego and Sansanding, I was apprehensive that, in attempting to reach even Jenne—unless under the protection of some man of consequence among them, which I had no means of obtaining—I

should sacrifice my life to no purpose; for my discoveries would perish with me.

"The prospect either way was gloomy. In returning to the Gambia, a journey on foot of many hundred miles presented itself to my contemplation, through regions and countries unknown. Nevertheless, this seemed to me the only alternative, for I saw inevitable destruction in attempting to proceed to the eastward. With this conviction on my mind, I hope my readers will acknowledge I did right in going no further. I had made every exertion to execute my mission in the fullest extent which prudence could justify. Had there been the most distant prospect of a successful termination, neither the unavoidable hardships of the journey nor the dangers of a second captivity should have forced me to desist. This, however, necessity compelled me to do."

When he had come to this resolution, he thought it incumbent upon him, before he left Silla, to collect whatever information might be within his reach respecting the further course of the Niger, and the situation and extent of the various kingdoms in its vicinity. Subsequent travelers have solved the problem, the honor of explaining which was denied to Park. We now know that this great river, after flowing to a considerable distance eastward of Timbuctoo, makes a bend to the south, and after pursuing a southwesterly course, empties into the Atlantic Ocean on the east of Benin.

On the 30th of July he commenced his return westward by the same route through which he had reached Silla. In a few days he recovered his horse, which had in some measure regained its strength, though it was still too weak to be ridden. The rainy season having now set in, the whole of the plain country was quickly inundated; so that he was often in danger of losing his way while traversing savannahs many miles in extent, knee deep in water. In several places he waded breast deep across the swamps. The huts of the villages in which he passed the night, being undermined or softened by the rain, often fell in; and the noise of their fall sometimes kept him awake, expecting that his own might be the next. His

situation was now even worse than during his progress eastward. A report had been widely circulated that he was a spy, in consequence of which he was in some places civilly refused admittance into the towns, in others driven from the gates with violence; so that he now appeared inevitably doomed to perish with hunger. However, when the fatal hour seemed at hand, some charitable being always appeared with a poor, but seasonable, supply; such, perhaps, as a little raw corn, which prolonged his life, and supplied him with strength to achieve his memorable journey.

"On the evening of the 15th of August," says Park, "I arrived at a small village called Song, the surly inhabitants of which would not receive me, nor so much as permit me to enter the gate; but as the lions were very numerous in this neighborhood, and I had frequently, in the course of the day, seen the impression of their feet upon the road, I resolved to stay in the vicinity of the village. Having collected some grass for my horse, I accordingly lay down under a tree by the gate. About ten o'clock I heard the hollow roar of a lion at no great distance, and attempted to open the gate, but the people within told me that no person must attempt to enter without the King's permission. I begged them to inform the King that a lion was approaching the village, and I hoped he would allow me to come within the gate. I waited for an answer to this message with great anxiety; for the lion kept prowling round the village, and once advanced so near me that I heard him rustling among the grass, whereupon I climbed a tree for safety.

"About midnight the King with some of his people opened the gate, and desired me to come in. They were convinced, they said, I was not a colored Mohammedan, for none of those people ever waited so long at the gate of a village without cursing the inhabitants."

The history of his journey now becomes nothing more than a repetition of similar sufferings. Hunger, fatigue, and depression of spirits attack the traveler by turns. Nothing, however, subdues his courage. Obstacle after obstacle yields to his

persevering intrepidity, and the indomitable explorer pushes forward with invincible ardor toward the coast. In one place, at the request of a native who had grown opulent by industrious application to commerce, he wrote charms for a good supper; and finding the contrivance productive, continued the practice next day for small presents of various kinds. On other occasions, where superstition did not come to his aid, humanity interposed and snatched him from starvation. At Bammakoo he was hospitably treated, even by a colored Mohammedan, who, having been in a Christian country, had conversed with them, and conceived a favorable idea of their character.

Finding that a singing man was about to proceed by this road to Sibidooloo, our traveler placed himself under his guidance, and quitted Bammakoo. He had not proceeded far, however, before his companion, finding that he had taken the wrong path, escaped among the rocks, and left him to find his way as he best might. He soon arrived at a village, where he was entertained with hospitality, and where he passed the night. Next day as he was quietly pursuing his course, a troop of peasants presented themselves, whom he at first took for elephant hunters, but who very shortly proved themselves to be robbers. Pretending to arrest him in the name of their King, they commanded him to follow them, until they reached a dark, lonely part of the wood, when one of them exclaimed in the Mandingo language: "This place will do!" and immediately snatched his hat from his head. "Though I was by no means free from apprehension," says Park, "yet I was resolved to show as few signs of fear as possible; and therefore told them that unless my hat was returned to me I should proceed no further. But before I had time to receive an answer another drew a knife, and seizing upon a metal button which remained upon my waistcoat, cut it off and put it into his pocket. Their intentions were now obvious; and I thought that the easier they were permitted to rob me of everything, the less I had to fear; I therefore allowed them to search my pockets without resistance, and examine every part of my apparel, which they did with the most scrupulous exactness. But, observing that I had

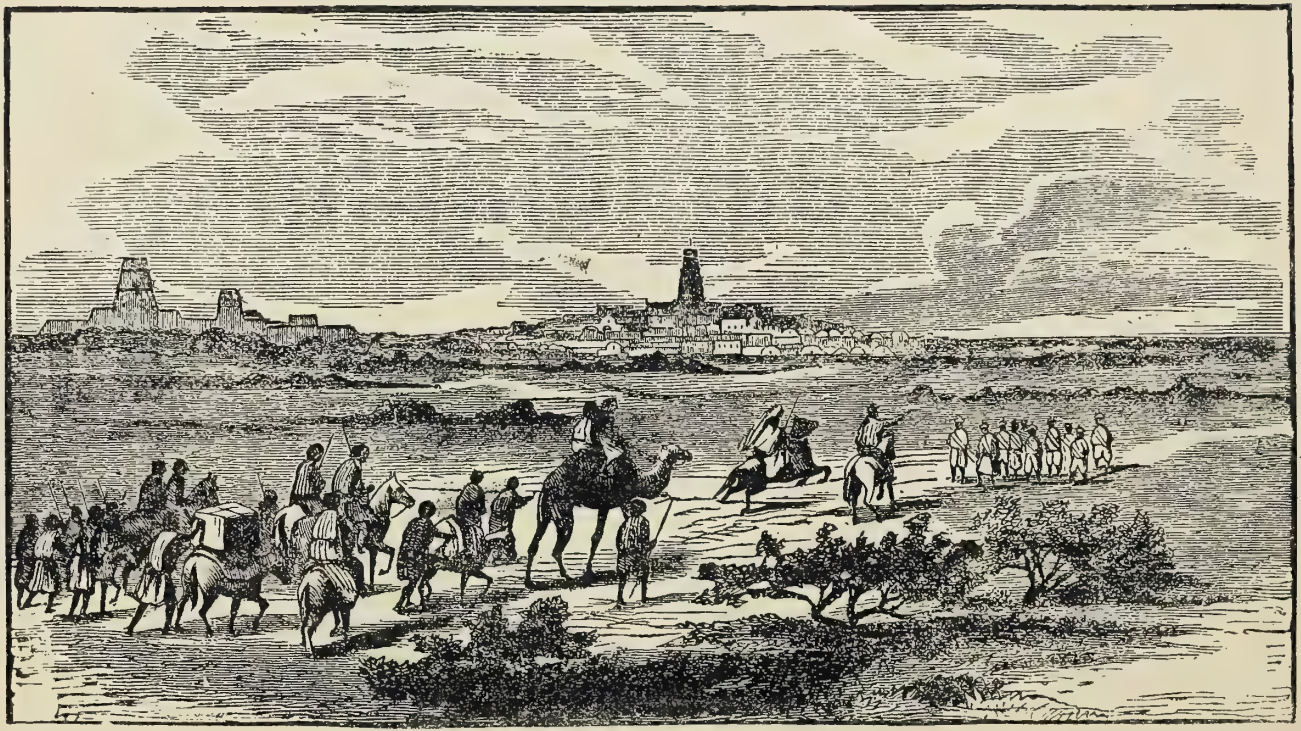
one waistcoat under another, they insisted that I should cast them both off; and at last, to make sure work, stripped me quite naked. Even my half-boots, though the sole of one of them was tied on to my foot with a broken bridle-rein, were minutely inspected. While they were examining the plunder, I begged them with great earnestness to return my pocket compass; but when I pointed it out to them, one of the robbers, thinking I was about to pick it up, cocked his gun, and swore he would shoot me dead upon the spot if I dared to put my hand upon it. After this, some of them went away with my horse, and the remainder stood considering whether they should leave me quite naked, or allow me something to shelter me from the sun. Humanity at last prevailed; they returned me the most of two shirts and a pair of trousers; and as they went away, one of them threw back my hat, in the crown of which I kept my memorandums, and this is probably the reason why they did not wish to keep it."

This was the most terrible misfortune which had hitherto befallen him, and at first his mind appeared to sink under the united influence of grief and terror. For a while he sat in sullen dejection, half persuaded that he had no alternative but to lie down and perish. Presently, however, reliance upon Providence succeeded this extreme dejection, and his mind gradually regained its tone. "I was, indeed, a stranger," he thought, "in a strange land; yet I was still under the protecting eye of that Providence who has condescended to call himself the stranger's friend. At this moment, painful as my reflections were, the extraordinary beauty of a small moss irresistibly caught my eye. I mention this to show from what trifling circumstances the mind will sometimes derive consolation; for though the whole part was not larger than the top of one of my fingers, I could not contemplate the delicate conformation of its roots, leaves and capsular without admiration. 'Can that Being,' thought I, 'who planted, watered and brought to perfection, in this obscure part of the world, a thing which appears of so small importance, look with unconcern upon the situation and sufferings of creatures formed after His own

image? Surely not!' Reflections like these would not allow me to despair; I started up, and disregarding both danger and fatigue, traveled forward, assured that relief was at hand, and I was not disappointed."

On arriving at Sibidooloo, Park related to the Mausa or Chief of the town the misfortune which had befallen him. This humane and excellent man, having heard him patiently to the end, took the pipe from his mouth, and turning up the sleeve of his coat with an indignant air, "Sit down," said he; you shall have everything restored to you; I have sworn it." He then took the necessary measures for the recovery of the traveler's property, and invited him to partake of his hospitable fare until this should have been effected. After spending a few days at this place, without hearing any news of his horse or other property, our traveler removed to a distant village, where he remained until the whole was discovered and restored to him, with the exception of his pocket compass, which had been broken to pieces.

Having nothing else to bestow upon his hospitable landlords, he gave his horse to one and his saddle and bridle to the other, and then taking his leave, proceeded on foot to Kamalia, where he arrived on the 16th of September. At this town, romantically situated at the foot of a lofty mountain, he found a slave merchant, who, intending to descend to the coast with a small caravan in the beginning of the dry season, offered the traveler an asylum until he should set out. Conceiving that it would be impossible to proceed during the rains, Park accepted his kind proposal, and promised in return to give him the price of a slave upon their arrival on the coast. Here a fever, which had for some time menaced him, manifested itself with great violence, and continued to torment him during the whole season of the rains. His landlord, meanwhile, exerted himself to keep up his hopes, and having by some means or another obtained possession of an English common prayer book, he communicated the use of it to Park, who was thus enabled to beguile the gloomy hours of his solitude and sickness. At length the rains became less frequent, and the fever abated, so



CARAVAN APPROACHING TIMBUCTOO.

that he could move out and enjoy the fresh air in the fields.

On the 19th of April, after Park had remained seven months at Kamalia, Kaarfa, the slave merchant, having collected his slaves, and completed all necessary preparations, set out toward the coast, taking the traveler, to whom his behavior had always been marked by the greatest kindness, along with him. Their road led them across the Jallonka wilderness, where the sufferings of every member of the caravan, and more particularly of the slaves, were most acute; but affliction was far from having taught them commiseration, for a fine young female slave, fainting from fatigue, had no sooner signified her inability to go on, than the universal cry of the caravan was, "Cut her throat! cut her throat!"

By the interposition of Kaarfa her life was spared, but she was abandoned on the road, where she was, no doubt, soon devoured by wild beasts. At length, after a long, toilsome journey, Kaarfa succeeded in fulfilling his promise, and conducted Park safely back to the King of Yam's land, which he reached on the 10th of June, and where the good old man was overwhelmed with the gratitude of his guest. Park now took his passage in an American vessel, and on arriving in the West Indies, quitted this ship for a packet bound for an English port, where he arrived on the 22d of December, 1797, after an absence of two years and seven months.

Immediately on his landing, he hastened to London, where he arrived before daylight on the morning of Christmas day. It being too early an hour to call on his brother-in-law, he strolled about for some time in the neighboring streets. At length, finding one of the entrances into the gardens of the British Museum accidentally open, he went in and walked about there for some time. It happened that Mr. Dickson, who had the care of these gardens, went there early that morning on some trifling business. What must have been his emotions on beholding, at that extraordinary time and place, the vision, as it must at first have appeared, of his long-lost friend, the object of so many anxious reflections, and whom he had long numbered with the dead.

He was now received with distinguished honor by the African Association, and the various literary men whom he met with in London. In the meantime his travels, which the Association permitted him to publish on his own account, were commenced; and both during his stay in London and the visit which he paid to his friends in Scotland, all his leisure hours were devoted to the compiling and arranging of the materials for the work. It appeared in the spring of 1799, and immediately acquired that degree of popularity which it has ever since maintained.

Soon after the publication of his travels, Park returned to Scotland, where he married and lived for two years on a farm with his mother and one of his brothers. He then removed to town, where he resumed the practice of his profession, and in a short time acquired most of the business of the place. His kindness and charity greatly endeared him to the poor of the district. He soon began to tire, however, of the obscure life of a country surgeon; the fascination of Africa was upon him, and he longed to return to the scenes of his dangers and sufferings. At the close of the year 1804, Park again entered Africa, and after many exciting adventures, reached the Niger, and from the brow of a hill had once more the satisfaction to behold it, rolling its immense stream along the plain.

Our traveler now proposed following the course of the river to its termination, whether that should prove to be in some great lake or inland sea, or, as he rather believed, in the Atlantic Ocean. In a letter to a person of high rank with whom he was in correspondence in England, he says: "With the assistance of one of the soldiers, I have changed a large canoe into a tolerably good schooner, on board which I this day hoisted the English flag, and shall set sail to the East, with the fixed resolution to discover the termination of the Niger, or perish in the attempt. I have heard nothing that I can depend on respecting the course of this mighty stream; but I am more and more inclined to think that it can end nowhere but in the sea."

Mr. Park was never seen again by any of his friends, after

embarking on the Niger, and the theory is that he was murdered by some of the wild tribes who infest its banks, or drowned in descending its waters. It should be remembered that the Africans who were questioned by subsequent explorers on this subject seemed all exceedingly desirous of exculpating their countrymen, perhaps their own friends and relations, of the charge of having murdered Park and his companions; according to one narrator, the canoe was caught between two rocks, where the river, being obstructed in its course, rushed through its narrow channel with prodigious fury. Here the travelers, in attempting to disembark, were drowned in sight of an immense multitude, who had assembled to see them pass, and were too timid to attack or assist them. This melancholy event appears to have occurred about March 1st, 1806.

Park possessed in a high degree the qualities necessary for a successful traveler—intrepidity, enthusiasm, perseverance, veracity and prudence—all of which were admirably illustrated by his first journey, as few men ever passed through circumstances so trying with equal nerve and self-possession.

In person he was tall, being about six feet high, and perfectly well proportioned. His countenance and whole appearance were highly interesting; his frame, active and robust, fitted for great exertions and extreme hardships. His constitution had suffered considerably from the effects of his first journey into Africa, but seems afterward to have been restored to its original vigor, of which his last expedition afforded the most abundant proofs. In all the relations of private life he appears to have been highly exemplary. To the more gentle and amiable parts of his character the most certain of all testimonies may be found in the warm attachment of his friends, and in the fond and affectionate recollections of every branch of his family.

CHAPTER III.

LIFE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

"I am as free as Nature's first-made man,
Ere the base laws of servitude began,
When unrestrained in woods the noblest native ran."

IN the year 1817, the Rev. Robert Moffat was sent to South Africa as an agent of the London Missionary Society. As he was not, strictly speaking, an explorer, and his work is a series of observations and reflections, rather than a connected narrative, it will be sufficient to extract those portions which best describe the country and its inhabitants. In 1842 he published in London an account of his experience, entitled "Missionary Labors and Scenes in South Africa." On arriving in Africa, he immediately entered on the duties of his office with zeal, courage and alacrity, departing from Cape Town, soon after his arrival, into a country of colored people, called the Bechuanas, where he remained many years, enduring the rude life of one of the humblest varieties of the human race, encountering many dangers and difficulties, but sustained through all by a truly Christian patience and humanity. He labored in the field until 1840—a period of twenty-three years —during which time he became familiar with the character and habits of nearly all the wild colored tribes between the English settlements and the mountains of Bamanguato, far beyond the Orange river, on the borders of the unknown coun try recently explored by Livingstone and Stanley.

The following is the account of the region where so many years of Mr. Moffat's life were spent.

"Great Namaqualand, as it is usually called, lies north of the Orange river, on the western coast of Africa, between the twenty-third and twenty-eighth degrees of south latitude; bounded on the north by the Damaras, and on the east by the

extensive sand desert, called the Southern Zara, Zahara. Meeting with an individual, on my journey thither, who had spent years in that country, I asked what was its character and physical appearance? 'Sir,' he replied, 'you will find plenty of sand and stones, a thinly scattered population, always suffering from want of water, on plains and hills, roasted like a burned leaf, under the rays of a cloudless sun.' Of the truth of this description I soon had ample demonstration. It is intersected by the Fish and Oup rivers, with their numberless tributary streams, if such their dry and often glowing beds may be termed. Sometimes, for years together, they are not known to run; when, after stagnant pools are dried up, the natives congregate to their beds and dig holes, or wells, in some instances to the depth of twenty feet, from which they draw water, generally of a very inferior quality. They place branches of trees in the excavation, and with great labor, under a hot sun, hand the water in a wooden vessel, and pour it into an artificial trough, to which the panting, lowing herds approach, partially to satiate their thirst. Thunder storms are eagerly anticipated, for by these only rain falls; and frequently these storms will pass over with tremendous violence, striking the inhabitants with awe, while not a single drop of rain descends to cool and fructify the parched waste.

"When the heavens do let down their watery treasures, it is generally in a partial strip of country which the electric cloud has traversed; so that the traveler will frequently pass, almost instantaneously, from ground on which there is not a blade of grass, into tracts of luxuriant green, sprung up after a passing storm. Fountains are indeed few and far between, the best very inconsiderable, frequently very salt, and some of them but springs; while the soil contiguous is generally so impregnated with saltpeter as to crackle under the feet like hoar frost, and it is with great difficulty that any vegetable can be made to grow. Much of the country is hard and stony, interspersed with plains of deep sand. There is much granite; and quartz is so abundantly scattered, reflecting such a glare of light from the rays of the sun, that the traveler, if exposed

at noonday, can scarcely allow his eyelids to be sufficiently open to enable him to keep the course he wishes to pursue.

"The inhabitants are a tribe or tribes of Hottentots, distinguished by all the singular characteristics of that nation, which includes Hottentots, Curannas, Namaquas and Bushmen. Their peculiar clicking language is so similar, that it is with little difficulty they converse with the two former. In their native state the aborigines, though deeply sunk in ignorance, and disgusting in their manners and mien, were neither very bloody nor warlike in their disposition. The enervating influence of climate and scanty sustenance seemed to have deprived them of that bold martial spirit which distinguishes the tribes who live in other parts of the interior, which, in comparison with Namaqualand, may be said to 'flow with milk and honey.' With the exception of the solitary traveler whose objects were entirely of a scientific character, those white men who ventured into the interior carried on a system of cupidity, and perpetrated deeds calculated to make the worst impression upon the minds of the natives, and influence them to view white men, and others described from them, as an 'angry' race of human beings, fit only to be classed with the lions which war for their prey in their native wilds. Intercourse with such visitors in the southern districts, and disgraceful acts of deceit and oppression, committed by sailors from ships which visited Angra Piquena, and other places on the western coast, had, as may easily be conceived, the most baneful influence on the native tribes, and nurtured in their heathen minds, naturally suspicious, a savage disgust for all intercourse with white men—alas! professedly Christian. It was to such a people, and to such a country, that the missionaries directed their course, to lead a life of the greatest self-denial and privation."

The Rev. J. Campbell, on his first visit to Africa, crossed the interior to Namaqualand. During his journey he found every village in terror of a chief whom they called Africaner. The chief's tribe had removed farther and farther from the home of their fathers, as the Dutch settlers encroached on

their territory, until at length they became subject to one of the pursuers. Here Africaner lived several years with his diminished tribe, serving his master faithfully until the cruelties to which his people were subjected at length awakened his resentment and aroused him to vengeance. His master was slain, and he led the remnant of his party to the Orange river, beyond the reach of their pursuers. In their attempts to get rid of him the colonists bribed other chiefs, and a long series of bloody conflicts ensued between the family of Africaner and the Chief Berend and his associates, in which neither conquered. Africaner frequently visited the boundaries of the colony and harassed the settlers. Some, whom he knew to be engaged in a plot against him, fell victims to his fury, and their cattle and other property were carried off. He thus became a scourge to the colonists on the south and the tribes on the north; and mutual provocations and retaliations became common. He paid back the aggressions with large interest, and his name carried dismay even to the remote deserts. On reaching a place called Pella, Mr. Campbell wrote a conciliatory letter to Africaner, and continued his journey. The chief sent a favorable reply, and soon afterward another missionary, by the name of Ebner, was sent out from Pella. It required no little circumspection and decision to gain an influence over a people whose hand had been against every one, but Mr. Ebner's labors were blessed, and in a short time Africaner and his two brothers, and a number of others, were baptized.

Mr. Ebner visited Cape Town for supplies in 1817, where he met with Mr. Moffat, who hailed him with delight as his companion and guide in his future labors, upon which he was now entering. After traveling awhile together, Mr. Moffat proceeded to Bysondermeid, in Little Namaqualand. "As I approached the boundaries of the colony," he writes, "it was evident to me that the farmers, who, of course, had not one good word to say of Africaner, were skeptical to the last degree about his reported conversion, and most unceremoniously predicted my destruction.

"One said he would set me up as a mark for his boys to

shoot at; and another, that he would strip off my skin and make a drum of it to dance to; another most consoling prediction was, that he would make a drinking cup of my skull. I believed they were serious, and especially a kind, motherly lady, who, wiping the tears from her eyes, bade me farewell, saying: 'Had you been an old man it would have been nothing, for you would soon have died, whether or no; but you are young, and going to become a prey to that monster.' "

After spending a month at Bysondermeid, he proceeded, by way of Pella, to Africaner's kraal, or village, where he arrived on the 26th of January, 1818, and was kindly received by Mr. Ebner. The natives, however, seemed reserved, and it was some time before Africaner, the chief, came to welcome him. It appeared, as Mr. Moffat afterward learned, that some unpleasant feeling existed between the missionary and the people. "After remaining an hour or more in this situation," he continues, "Christian Africaner made his appearance, and after the usual salutation, inquired if I was the missionary appointed by the directors in London; to which I replied in the affirmative. This seemed to afford him much pleasure; and he added that as I was young, he hoped I would live long with him and his people. He then ordered a number of women to come. I was rather puzzled to know what he intended by sending for women, till they arrived bearing bundles of native mats and long sticks, like fishing rods. Africaner, pointing to a spot of ground, said, 'There you must build a house for the missionary.' A circle was instantly formed, and the women, evidently delighted with the job, fixed the poles, tied them down in the hemispheric form and covered them with the mats, all ready for habitation in the course of little more than half an hour.

"Since that time I have seen houses built of all descriptions, and assisted in the construction of a good many myself; but I confess I never witnessed such expedition. The houses of the Carannas, Hottentots, Namaquas and Bushmen, for such they may be called, are at best not very stylish nor comfortable. I lived nearly six months in this native hut, which very fre-

quently required tightening and fastening after a storm. When the sun shone it was unbearably hot; when the rain fell, I came in for a share of it; when the wind blew, I had frequently to decamp to escape the dust; and in addition to these little inconveniences, any hungry cur of a dog that wished a night's lodging would force itself through the frail wall, and not unfrequently deprive me of my anticipated meal for the coming day; and I have more than once found a poisonous serpent snugly coiled up in a corner. Nor were these all the contingencies of such a dwelling, for as the cattle belonging to the village had no fold, but strolled about, I have been compelled to start up from a sound sleep and try to defend myself and my dwelling from being crushed to pieces by the rage of two furious bulls which had met to fight a nocturnal duel."

Mr. Moffat soon afterward entered upon his labors, and was cheered by the interest which Africaner manifested in his instructions. He learned to read and became a constant reader of the Scriptures, and loved to converse on religious subjects, and at the same time greatly assisted in the labors of the mission. "During the whole period I lived there," continues Mr. Moffat, "I do not remember having occasion to be grieved with him, or to complain of any part of his conduct; his very faults seemed to lean to virtue's side. One day, when seated together, I happened, in absence of mind, to be gazing steadfastly on him. It arrested his attention, and he modestly inquired the cause. I replied, 'I was trying to picture to myself your carrying fire and sword through the country, and I could not think how eyes like yours could smile at human woe.' He answered not, but shed a flood of tears. He zealously seconded my efforts to improve the people in cleanliness and industry; and it would have made any one smile to have seen Christian Africaner and myself superintending the school childdren, now about one hundred and twenty, washing themselves at the fountain. He was a man of peace; and though I could not expound to him that the 'sword of the magistrate' implied that he was calmly to sit at home and see the Bushmen or marauders carry off his cattle and slay his servants, yet so fully did he

understand and appreciate the principles of the gospel of peace, that nothing could grieve him more than to hear of individuals, or villagers, contending with one another."

As the spot on which they lived was not suitable for a permanent missionary station, it was determined to take a journey northward and examine the country bordering on Dawarraland, where it was reported that water abounded. On the route they occasionally met with Namaqua villages, whose inhabitants were exceedingly ignorant, though not so stupid as some travelers have reported these people to be. In this connection Mr. Moffat, speaking of the liability of travelers to be led astray, refers to a traveler, who, having asked his guide the name of a place, was proceeding to write down the answer "Na Reng," when told by Mr. Moffat that the guide merely asked what he said. In another instance "mountains" was the reply, instead of the name of the mountain. "And in reference to points of faith or extent of knowledge," continues he, "the traveler may be completely duped, as I was in the present journey. At an isolated village, far in the wilds of Namaqualand, I met an individual who appeared somewhat more intelligent than the rest; to him I put a number of questions, to ascertain if there was any tradition in the country respecting the deluge, of which vestiges are to be found in almost every part of the known world. I had made many inquiries before, but all to no purpose. Discovering that he possessed some knowledge on the subject, and being an utter stranger to any of the party, and to all appearances a child of the desert, I very promptly took up my pen and wrote, thinking myself a lucky discoverer. I was perfectly astonished at some of his first sentences, and, afraid lest I should lose one word, I appointed two interpreters; but by the time I reached the end of his story, I began to suspect it bore the impress of the Bible. On questioning him as to the source of his information, he positively asserted that he had received it from his forefathers, and that he never saw or heard of a missionary. I secretly instituted inquiries into his history, but could elicit nothing. I folded up my paper and put it into my trunk, very much

puzzled, and resolving to leave the statement in wiser hands than mine. On our return this man accompanied us some days southward, towards the Karas mountains, where we halted at a village; and meeting a person who had been at Bethany, lying northwest of us and which was occupied by a missionary named Schmelen, I entreated him to guide us thither, as I was anxious to visit the place. He could not, being worn out with the journey; but pointing to the deluge narrator, he said: 'There is a man that knows the road to Bethany, for I have seen him there.' The mystery of the tradition was in a moment unraveled, and the man decamped, on my seeing that the forefather who told him the story was our missionary Schmelen. Stories of a similar kind originally obtained at a missionary station, or from some pious traveler, get, in course of time, so mixed up and metamorphosed by heathen ideas that they look exceedingly like native traditions."

Finding the natives unfriendly, they returned unsuccessful. Once, when they had been a day and night without water, they drew near some bushes which seemed to skirt on a ravine, and hastened forward with joy. "On reaching the spot," says Mr. Moffat, "we beheld an object of heart-rending distress. It was a venerable-looking old woman, a living skeleton, sitting with her head leaning on her knees. She appeared terrified at our presence, and especially at me. She tried to rise, but, trembling with weakness, sank again to the earth. I addressed her by the name which sounds sweet in every clime, and charms even the savage ear: 'My mother, fear not; we are friends, and will do you no harm.' I put several questions to her, but she appeared either speechless or afraid to open her lips. I again repeated, 'Pray, mother, who are you, and how do you come to be in this situation?' To which she replied: 'I am a woman; I have been here four days; my children have left me here to die.' 'Your children!' I exclaimed. 'Yes,' said she, raising her trembling hand to her withered bosom, 'my own children; three sons and two daughters. They are gone,' pointing with her finger to yonder blue mountains, 'and have left me to die.' 'And pray why did they leave you?' I

inquired. Spreading out her hands: 'I am old, you see, and I am no longer able to serve them; when they kill game I am too feeble to help in carrying home the flesh; I am not able to gather wood to make fire; and cannot carry other children on my back as I used to do.' This last sentence was more than I could bear; and though my tongue was cleaving to the roof of my mouth for want of water, this reply opened a fountain of tears. I remarked that I was surprised that she had escaped the lions which seemed to abound, and to have approached very near the spot where she was. She took hold of the skin of her left arm with her fingers, and, raising it up as one would do a loose linen, she added, 'I fear the lions? There is nothing on me they would eat; I have no flesh on me for them to scent.'

"At this moment the wagon drove near, which greatly alarmed her, for she supposed it was a huge animal. Assuring her that it would do her no harm, I said that, as I could not stay, I would put her in the wagon and take her with me. At this remark she became convulsed with terror. Others addressed her, but all to no effect. She replied, that if we took her, and left her at another village, they would only do the same thing again. 'It is our custom; I am nearly dead; I do not want to die again.' The sun was now piercingly hot; the oxen were raging in the yoke, and we ourselves nearly delirious. Finding it impossible to influence the woman to move, without running the risk of her dying convulsed in our hands, we collected a quantity of fuel, gave her a good supply of dry meat, some tobacco and a knife, with some other articles, telling her we should return in two days and stop the night, when she would be able to go with us; only she must keep up a good fire at night as the lions would smell the dried flesh, if they did not scent her. We then pursued our course; and after a long ride, passing a rocky ridge of hills, we came to a stagnant pool, into which men and oxen rushed precipitately, though the water was almost too muddy to go down our throats."

After this journey, which lasted a few weeks, Mr. Moffat

lived an itinerating missionary life for several months, and then undertook a journey at the request of Africaner, to the Griqua country, east of the desert, to inspect a situation offered to him and his pepole. The journey was long and difficult, but the result was satisfactory to Africaner. Meanwhile the want of intercourse with the colony made it necessary for Mr. Moffat to visit Cape Town, and he proposed that Africaner should accompany him. The chief was startled at this proposition, and asked if he did not know that a thousand rix dollars were offered for his head. Others also made objections, but finally all difficulties were removed, and they set forward. They spent a few days at Pella, while the subject of getting Africaner safely through the territories of the colonists to the Cape was discussed. Many thought the step hazardous, but it was arranged that, although he was a chief, he should pass for one of Mr. Moffat's servants. As they proceeded, the people often expressed wonder that Mr. Moffat had escaped from such a monster of cruelty, and it sometimes afforded no little entertainment to Africaner and the Namaquas to hear a farmer denounce this supposed irreclaimable savage. A novel scene which occurred at one farm is thus described:

"On approaching the house, which was on an eminence, I directed my men to take the wagon to the valley below, while I walked toward the house. The farmer, seeing a stranger, came slowly down the descent to meet me. When within a few yards, I addressed him in the usual way, and stretching out my hand, expressed my pleasure at seeing him again. He put his hand behind him and asked me rather mildly, who I was. I replied that I was Moffat, expressing my wonder that he should have forgotten me. 'Moffat!' he rejoined in a faltering voice; 'it is your *ghost!*' and moved some steps backward. 'I am no ghost.' 'Don't come near me!' he exclaimed, 'you have been long murdered by Africaner.' '*But I am no ghost,*' I said, feeling my hands, as if to convince him and myself, too, of my materiality; but his alarm only increased. 'Everyobdy says you were murdered; and a man told me he had seen your bones;' and he continued to gaze at me, to the no small aston-

ishment of the good wife and children, who were standing at the door, as also to that of my people, who were looking on from the wagon below. At length he extended his trembling hand, saying, 'When did you rise from the dead?' As he feared my presence would frighten his wife, we bent our steps toward the wagon, and Africaner was the subject of our conversation. I gave him in a few words my view of his present character, saying, 'He is now a truly good man,' to which he replied, 'I can believe almost anything you say, but *that* I cannot credit.' By this time we were standing with Africaner at our feet, on whose countenance sat a smile, well knowing the prejudices of some of the farmers. The farmer closed the conversation by saying with much earnestness, 'Well, if what you assert be true respecting that man, I have only one wish, and that is to see him before I die; and when you return, as sure as the sun is over our heads, I will go with you to see him, though he killed my own uncle.' I was not before aware of this fact, and now felt some hesitation whether to discover to him the object of his wonder; but knowing the sincerity of the farmer, and the goodness of his disposition, I said, 'This, then, is Africaner!' He started back, looking intently at the man, as if he had just dropped from the clouds. 'Are you Africaner?' he exclaimed. The dreaded chief arose, doffed his old hat, and making a polite bow, answered, 'I am.' The farmer seemed thunder-struck; but when, by a few questions, he had assured himself of the fact that the former bugbear of the border stood before him, meek and lamb-like in his whole deportment, he lifted up his eyes and exclaimed, 'O God, what a miracle of Thy power! What can not Thy grace accomplish!' The kind farmer, and his no less hospitable wife, now abundantly supplied our wants; but we hastened our departure, lest the intelligence might get abroad that Africaner was with me, and bring unpleasant visitors.

"On arriving at Cape Town, I waited on his excellency, the Governor, Lord Somerset, who appeared to receive with considerable skepticism my testimony that I had brought the far-famed Africaner on a visit to his excellency. The following



CHIEF AFRICANER.

day was appointed for an interview, when the chief was received by Lord Charles with great affability and kindness; and he expressed his pleasure at seeing thus before him one who had formerly been the scourge of the country and the terror of the border colonists.

"His excellency was evidently much struck with this result of missionary enterprise, the benefit of which he had sometimes doubted. Whatever he might think of his former views, his excellency was now convinced that a most important point had been gained; and, as a testimony of his good feeling, he presented Africaner with an excellent wagon, valued at eighty pounds sterling, nearly four hundred dollars."

Africaner's appearance in Cape Town excited considerable attention, as his name and exploits had been familiar to many of its inhabitants for more than twenty years. Many were struck with the unexpected mildness and gentleness of his demeanor, and others with his piety and accurate knowledge of the Scriptures.

After spending some time at Griqua Town, Mr. Moffat joined the mission at the Kuruman, in May, 1821. Here he had to labor with a people ignorant in the extreme, and utterly destitute of a system of religion to which he could appeal, or of ideas kindred to those he wished to impart. To tell them of a creator, or of the immortality of the soul, was to speak of what was fabulous and extravagant. "A wily rain-maker," continues Mr. Moffat, "who was the oracle of the village in which he dwelt, once remarked, after hearing me enlarge on the subject of creation, 'If you verily believe that the great Being created all men, then, according to reason, you must also believe that in making white people he has improved on his work; he tried his hand on Bushmen first, and did not like them, because they were so ugly, and their language like that of frogs. He then tried his hand on the Hottentots, but these did not please him either. He then exercised his power and skill and made the Bechuanas, which was a great improvement; and at last he made the white people; therefore [exulting with an air of triumph at the discovery] the white people

are so much wiser than we are in making walking houses [meaning wagons], teaching the oxen to draw them over hill and dale, and instructing them also to plow the gardens instead of making their wives do it, like the Bechuanas.' His discovery received the applause of the people, while the poor missionary's arguments, drawn from the source of Divine truth, were thrown into the shade.

"With all their concessions, they would, with little ceremony, pronounce our customs clumsy, awkward, and troublesome. They could not account for our putting our legs, feet, and arms into bags, and using buttons for the purpose of fastening bandages round our bodies, instead of suspending them as ornaments from the neck or hair of the head. Washing the body, instead of lubricating it with grease and red ocher, was a disgusting custom, and cleanliness about our food, house, and bedding contributed to their amusement in no small degree. A native, who was engaged in roasting a piece of fat zebra flesh for me on the coals, was told that he had better turn it with a stick or fork, instead of his hands, which he invariably rubbed on his dirty body for the sake of the precious fat. This suggestion of mine made him and his companions laugh extravagantly, and they were wont to repeat it as an interesting joke wherever they came.

"Among the Bechuana tribes, the name adopted by the missionaries for God is Morimo. This has the advantage of the names used by the Kafirs and Hottentots, being more definite, as its derivation at once determines its meaning. *Mo* is a personal prefix and *rimo* is from *gorimo*, signifying "above." From the same root *legorimo*, "heaven," and its plural, *magorimo*, are derived. The genius of the Bechuana language warrants us to expect a correspondence between the name and the thing designated; but in this instance the order is reversed. Morimo, to those who know anything about it, had been represented by rain-makers and sorcerers as a malevolent *selo*, or thing, which the natives in the south described as existing in a hole, and which, like the fairies in the Highlands of Scotland, sometimes came out and inflicted diseases

on men and cattle, and even caused death. This Morimo served the purposes of a bugbear, by which the rain-maker might constrain the chiefs to yield to his suggestions when he wished for a slaughter ox, without which he pretended he could not make rain."

The mission among the Bechuanas had now been established five years, but the natives had become indifferent to all instruction, except when it was followed by some temporal benefit. The time of the missionaries was much occupied in building and in attending to the wants of daily life. The light, sandy soil required constant irrigation for the production of any kind of crops, and a water ditch some miles in length had been led from the Kuruman river, and passed in its course through the gardens of the natives. The native women, seeing the fertilizing effects of the water in the gardens of the mission, took the liberty of cutting open the ditch, often leaving the mission without a drop of water even for culinary purposes. The missionaries were often obliged to go three miles with a spade in the hottest part of the day to close up these outlets and obtain moisture for their burnt-up vegetables.

As soon as they had left the women would open the outlets again, and thus they were sometimes many days without water, except what was carried from a distant fountain, under a cloudless sky, when the thermometer at noon would frequently rise to one hundred and twenty degrees in the shade.

"The following is a brief sketch of the ceremony of burying the dead, as practiced among the tribes of South Africa. When they see any indications of approaching dissolution in fainting fits or convulsive throes, they throw a net over the body and hold it in a sitting posture, with the knees brought in contact with the chin, till life is gone. The grave, which is frequently made in the fence surrounding the cattle fold, or in the fold itself, if for a man, is about three feet in diameter and six feet deep. The body is not conveyed through the door of the fore-yard or court connected with each house, but an opening is made in the fence for that purpose. It is

carried to the grave, having the head covered with a skin, and is placed in a sitting posture. Much time is spent in order to fix the corpse exactly facing the north; and though they have no compass, they manage, after some consultation, to place it very nearly in the required position.

"Portions of an ant-hill are placed about the feet, when the net which held the body is gradually withdrawn; as the grave is filled up, the earth is handed in with bowls, while two men stand in the hole and tread it down round the body, great care being taken to pick out everything like a root or pebble. When the earth reaches the height of the mouth, a small twig or branch of an acacia is thrown in, and on the top of the head a few roots of grass are placed; and when the grave is nearly filled, another root of grass is fixed immediately above the head, part of which stands above ground. When finished, the men and women stoop, and with their hands scrape the loose soil around on to the little mound. A large bowl of water, with an infusion of bulbs, is then brought, when the men and women wash their hands and the upper part of their feet, shouting *'Pula! pula!'* ('Rain! rain!') An old woman, probably a relative, will then bring his weapons, bows, arrows, war-ax and spears, also grain and garden seeds of various kinds, and even the bones of an old pack-ox, with other things, and address the grave, saying, 'These are all your articles.' These are then taken away, and bowls of water are poured on the grave, when all retire, the women wailing *'Yo! yo! yo!'* with some doleful dirge, sorrowing without hope. These ceremonies vary in different localities, and according to the rank of the individual who is committed to the dust.

"Years of drought had been severely felt, and the natives, tenacious of their faith in the potency of a man, held a council, and passed resolutions to send for a rain-maker of renown from the Bahurutsi tribe, two hundred miles northeast of the Kuruman station. Rain-makers have always most honor among a strange people, and therefore they are generally foreigners. The heavens had been as brass, scarcely a cloud had been seen for months, even on the distant horizon. Suddenly a shout

was raised, and the whole town was in motion. The rain-maker was approaching. Every voice was raised to the highest pitch with acclamations of enthusiastic joy. He had sent a harbinger to announce his approach, with peremptory orders for all the inhabitants to wash their feet. Every one seemed to fly in swiftest obedience to the adjoining river. Noble and ignoble, even the girl who attended to our kitchen fire, ran; old and young ran. All the world could not have stopped them. By this time the clouds began to gather, and a crowd went out to welcome the mighty man, who, as they imagined, was now collecting in the heavens his stores of rain.

"Just as he was descending the height into the town, the immense concourse danced and shouted, so that the very earth rang, and at the same time the lightnings darted, and the thunders roared in awful grandeur. A few heavy drops fell, which produced the most thrilling ecstasy on the deluded multitude, whose shouting baffled all description. Faith hung upon the lips of the impostor, while he proclaimed aloud that this year the women must cultivate gardens on the hills, and not in the valleys, for these would be deluged. After the din had somewhat subsided, a few individuals came to our dwellings to treat us and our doctrines with derision. 'Where is your God?' one asked with a sneer. We were silent, because the wicked were before us. 'Have you not heard with your ears, his voice in the clouds?' adding with an interjection of supreme disgust, 'You talk of Jehovah, and Jesus, what can they do?' Never in my life do I remember a text being brought home with such power as the words of the Psalmist, 'Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen.'

"The rain-maker found the clouds in our country rather harder to manage than those he had left. He complained that secret rogues were disobeying his proclamations. When urged to make repeated trial, he would reply, 'You only give me sheep and goats to kill, therefore I can only make goat rain; give me fat slaughter oxen, and I shall let you see ox rain.' One day, as he was taking a sound sleep a shower fell, on which

one of his principal men entered his house to congratulate him, but to his utter amazement found him totally insensible to what was transpiring. '*Hela, ka rare!* (Halloo, my father!) I thought you were making rain,' said the intruder. When arising from his slumbers, and seeing his wife sitting on the floor shaking a milk-sack, in order to obtain a little butter to anoint her hair, he replied, pointing to the operation of churning, 'Do you not see my wife churning rain as fast as she can?' This reply gave entire satisfaction, and it presently spread through the length and breadth of the town, that the rain-maker had churned the shower out of a milk-sack. The moisture caused by this shower was dried up by a scorching sun, and many long weeks followed without a single cloud, and when these did appear they might sometimes be seen, to the great mortification of the conjurer, to discharge their watery treasures at an immense distance.

"The rain-maker had recourse to numerous expedients and stratagems, and continued his performances for many weeks. All his efforts, however, proved unsuccessful. He kept himself very secluded for a fortnight, and, after cogitating how he could make his own cause good, he appeared in the public fold, and proclaimed that he had discovered the cause of the drought. All were now eagerly listening; he dilated some time, till he had raised their expectation to the highest pitch, when he revealed the mystery. 'Do you not see, when clouds come over us, that Mr. Moffat looks at them?' This question receiving a hearty and unanimous affirmation, he added, that my white face frightened away the clouds, and they need not expect rain so long as there were any missionaries in the country. This was a home stroke, and it was an easy matter for all missionaries to calculate what the influence of such a charge would be on the public mind. We were very soon informed of the evil of our conduct, to which we plead guilty, promising that, as we were not aware that we were doing wrong, being as anxious as any of them for rain, we would willingly look to our chins, or the ground, all the day long, if it would serve their purpose. It was rather remarkable that

as much as they admired my long, black beard, they thought that in this case it was most to blame. However, this season of trial passed over, to our great comfort, though it was followed for some time with many indications of suspicion and distrust."

In October, 1823, Mr. Moffat having occasion to visit Cape Town with his family, he writes: "As Mothibi (the chief) was anxious that his son should see the country of the white people, he sent him with us, and appointed Taisho, one of his principal chiefs, to accompany him. The kind reception they met with from his excellency, the Governor, and the friends in Cape Town, and the sights they saw, produced strange emotions in their minds. They were delighted with everything they beheld, and were in raptures when they met again their old friend named Thompson, and who showed them much kindness.

"It was with some difficulty that they were prevailed upon to go on board one of the ships in the bay; nor would they enter the boat until I had preceded them. They were perfectly astounded when hoisted on the deck, with the enormous size of the hull, and the height of the masts; and when they saw a boy mount the rigging and ascend to the very masthead, they were speechless with amazement. Taisho whispered to the young prince, '*A ga si khatla?*' ('Is it not an ape?') When they entered the splendid cabin, and looked into the deep hold, they could scarcely be convinced that the vessel was not resting on the bottom of the ocean. 'Do these water houses [ships] unload, like wagon oxen, every night?' they inquired. 'Do they graze in the sea to keep them alive?' A ship in full sail approaching the roads, they were asked what they thought of that. 'We have no thoughts here; we hope to think again when we get to the shore,' was their reply. They would go anywhere with me or Mr. Thompson, for whom they entertained a kindly feeling, but they would trust no one else."

After his return, Mr. Moffat, accompanied by some Griquas, set out on the first of July, 1824, to visit Makaba, the chief of the Buangketsi. A few days afterwards, they were joined by

another party, under the chief Berend. Before reaching the town, the train was met by the messengers of Makaba, who welcomed them, and when they came near, Makaba desired them to conduct the wagons through the principal street, but as it was a narrow path, winding among a number of houses, Mr. Moffat pronounced the thing impossible without seriously injuring the fences. "Never mind that," says Makaba, "only let me see the wagons go through my town;" and on they went, while the chieftain stood on an eminence before his door, looking with inexpressible delight on the wagons, which were breaking down corners of fences, while the good wives within were so much amazed at the oxen, and what appeared to them ponderous vehicles, that they hardly found time to scold, though a few did not fail to express their displeasure.

They found a dense population of the Buangketsi; and early next morning they were surrounded by thousands, so that it was difficult to pass from one wagon to another. "The country of the Buangketsi is hilly, and even mountainous toward the north and east. The soil in general is very rich; but water is rather scarce, and though I believe rains are pretty abundant, yet, from what I could learn, irrigation would be absolutely necessary to raise European vegetables and grain. The countries to the north and east abound with rivers, and are very fruitful and populous. The mountains are adorned to their very summits with stately trees and shrubs, unknown in the southern parts of the continent, which give the country a picturesque and inspiring appearance." On their return they were attacked by a party of Barolongs, who were repulsed only after a fierce encounter and the loss of several lives. Some of Berend's people likewise captured several hundred of the enemy's cattle

"At the close of the year 1826, having removed into our new habitation, and the state of the country being somewhat more tranquil, a journey was resolved on to the Barolongs, near the Molapo, in order to attend exclusively to the language, which hitherto it had not been possible to do, owing to the succession of manual labor connected with commencing a new

station, when the missionaries must be at the beginning, middle and end of everything. Mr. Hamilton, who felt that his advanced age was a serious barrier to his acquisition of the language, was anxious for my progress, and cheerfully undertook the entire labors of the station for a short season, preaching to the Batlopes in the neighborhood, and keeping up public service for the few on the station. Two attempts had been previously made for this very purpose, but I had not long left the place before, in both instances, I was recalled on account of threatened attacks."

Arrived at the village of Bogachu, ruled by a Barolong chief, Mr. Moffat spent ten weeks there, attending to the language. He writes: "The people, to please me, would assemble on the Sabbath, and our attendance at public worship would vary from forty to fifty. In the course of my sermon I told them I could not be happy without telling them about their souls and another world. One day, while describing the day of judgment, several of my hearers expressed great concern at the idea of all their cattle being destroyed, together with their ornaments. They never for one moment allowed their thoughts to dwell on death, which, according to their views, is nothing less than annihilation. Their supreme happiness consits in having an abundance of meat. Asking a man who was more grave and thoughtful than his companions, what was the finest sight he could desire, he instantly replied, 'A great fire covered with pots full of meat;' adding, 'How ugly the fire looks without a pot!'

"A custom prevails among all the Bechuanas whom I have visited, of removing to a distance from the towns and villages persons who have been wounded. Two young men, who had been wounded by the poisoned arrows of the Bushmen, were thus removed from the Kuruman. Having visited them, to administer relief, I made inquiries, but could learn no reason, except that it was a custom. This unnatural practice exposed the often helpless invalid to a great danger; for, if not well attended during the night, his paltry little hut, or rather shade from the sun and wind, would be assailed by the hyena or

lion. A catastrophe of this kind occurred a short time before my arrival among the Barolongs. The son of one of the principal chiefs, a fine young man, had been wounded by a buffalo; he was, according to custom, placed on the outside of the building till he should recover; a portion of food was daily sent, and a person appointed to make his fire for the evening. The fire went out; and the helpless man, notwithstanding his piteous cries, was carried off by a lion and devoured. Some might think that this practice originated in the treatment of infectious diseases, such as leprosy; but the only individual I ever saw thus affected was not separated. This disease, though often found among slaves in the colony, is unknown among the tribes in the interior, and therefore they have no name for it.

"Although, as has been stated, 'the savages,' when applied to Bechuanas, must be understood in a restricted sense, there was nothing either very comely or comfortable in the dress of either sex; yet such was their attachment to it, that any one deviating from it was considered a clown. The child is carried in a skin on its mother's back, with its chest lying close to her person; when it requires to be moved from that position, it is often wet with perspiration; and from being thus exposed to cold wind, lung complaints are not infreqeutnly brought on. As soon as a baby is born, its head is shaved, leaving a small tuft on the imperfectly ossified part of the skull; and when but a few weeks old, the little head may be seen hanging over the skin in which it is carried, shining with grease, and exposed to the rays of an almost vertical sun; yet sunstroke is not of frequent occurrence, either in infants or adults. The natives, however, are far from admiring a hot sun, and it is not uncommon to hear them say, '*Letsatsi utluega yang?*' ('How does the sun feel?') and this exclamation is not to be wondered at, for I have known the action of the sun's rays so powerful on the masses of green and black shining ocher on the head, as to cause it to run down their necks and blister the skin. They are therefore often found carrying a parasol made of black ostrich feathers, and in the absence of these will hold a small bunch over their heads. I have frequently ob-

served the Matobele warriors carrying their shields over their heads for the same purpose.

"For a long period, when a man was seen to make a pair of trousers for himself, or a woman a gown, it was a sure intimation that we might expect additions to our inquirers. Abandoning the custom of painting the body, and beginning to wash with water, was with them what cutting off the hair was among the South Sea Islanders, a public renunciation of heathenism. In the progress of improvement during the year which followed, and by which many individuals who made no profession of the Gospel were influenced, we were frequently much amused. A man might be seen in a jacket with but one sleeve, because the other was not finished, or he lacked material to complete it. Another in a leathern or doffed jacket, with the sleeves of different colors, or of fine printed cotton. Gowns were seen like Joseph's coat, of many colors, and dresses of such fantastic shapes as were calculated to excite a smile in the gravest of us. It was somewhat entertaining to witness the various applications made to Mrs. Moffat, who was the only European female on the station, for assistance in the fabrication of dress, nor were these confined to female applicants.

"Our congregation now became a variegated mass, including all descriptions, from the lubricated wild man of the desert, to the clean, comfortable and well-dressed believer. The same spirit diffused itself through all the routine of household economy. Formerly a chest, a chair, a candle, or a table were things unknown, and supposed to be only the superfluous accompaniments of beings of another order. Although they never disputed the superiority of our attainments, in being able to manufacture these superfluities, they would, however, question our common sense in taking so much trouble about them. They thought us particularly extravagant in burning fat in the form of candles, instead of rubbing it on the body, or depositing it in our stomachs. Hitherto when they had milked their cows, they retired to their houses and yards to sit moping over a few cinders, seldom affording sufficient light to see what they were

eating, or even each other; at night, spreading the dry hide of some animal on the floor, they would lie down in their skin-cloaks, making a blanket of what had been their mantles all day. They soon found that to read in the evening or by night required a more steady light than that afforded by a flickering flame from a bit of wood. Candle-molds and rags for wick were now in requisition, and tallow carefully preserved, when bunches of candles were shortly to be seen suspended from the wall, a spectacle far more gratifying to us than the most charming picture, an indication of the superior light which had entered their abodes."

In the latter part of the year 1829, Mr. Moffat accompanied two messengers of Moselkatse, a king of a division of Zulus, called Matobele, on their return home. "Having traveled one hundred miles," he writes, "five days after leaving Mosega, we came to the first cattle outposts of the Matobele, when we halted by a fine rivulet. My attention was arrested by a beautiful and gigantic tree standing in a defile leading to an extensive and woody ravine, between a high range of mountains. Seeing some individuals employed on the ground under its shade, and the conical points of what looked like houses in miniature protruding through its evergreen foliage, I proceeded thither, and found that the tree was inhabited by several families of Bakones, the aborigines of the country. I ascended by the notched trunk, and found, to my amazement, no less than seventeen of these aërial abodes, and three others unfinished. On reaching the topmost hut, about thirty feet from the ground, I entered and sat down. Its only furniture was the hay which covered the floor, a spear, a spoon, and a bowl full of locusts. Not having eaten anything that day, and from the novelty of my situation, not wishing to return immediately to the wagons, I asked a woman, who sat at the door with a babe at her breast, permission to eat. This she granted with pleasure, and soon brought me some in a powdered state. Several more females came from the neighboring roosts, stepping from branch to branch, to see the stranger, who was to them as great a curiosity as the tree was to him. I then vis-

ited the different abodes, which were on several principal branches. The structure of these houses was very simple. An oblong scaffold, about seven feet wide, is formed of straight sticks; on one end of the platform a small cone is formed, also of straight sticks, and thatched with grass. A person can nearly stand upright in it; the diameter of the floor is about six feet. The house stands on the end of the oblong, so as to leave a little square space before the door. On the day previous I had passed several villages, some containing forty houses, all built on poles, about seven or eight feet from the ground, in the form of a circle; the ascent and descent is by a knotty branch of a tree placed in front of the house. In the center of the circle there is always a heap of the bones of the game they have killed. Such were the domiciles of the impoverished thousands of the aborigines of the country, who, having been scattered and robbed by Moselkatse, had neither herd nor stall, but subsisted on locusts, roots and the chase. They adopted this mode of architecture to escape the lions which abound in that country. We cannot refrain from admiring the ingenuity and wisdom of these primitive tribes, in thus completely foiling savage beasts of prey, for, as they were without firearms, their comfortable homes in the trees afforded them sufficient protection from ferocious animals."

The King received the missionaries with kindness, and during a long visit Mr. Moffat had frequent intercourse with his majesty, who fully listened to his instructions. On his return, Moselkatse accompanied him in his wagon, a long day's journey.

Mr. Moffat concludes the story of his long labors in the following words: "Before closing the account of the Bechuana Mission, it will be proper to state, that during the years 1837, 1838, a rich blessing descended on the labors of the brethren at home, at the out stations, and, indeed, at every place where the Gospel was read and preached. Large additions of Bechuanas at Griqua Town have already been noticed; and in 1838 great accessions were made to that of the Kuruman. Under the very efficient and assiduous superintendence of Mr.

Edwards, the number of readers connected with the mission had increased in equal ratio; while the infant school, commenced and carried on by Mrs. Edwards, with the assistance of a native girl, gave the highest satisfaction. The people made rapid advance in civilization; some purchasing wagons, and breaking in their oxen for those labors which formerly devolved on the female sex. The use of clothing became so general, that the want of a merchant was greatly felt, to supply the demands of English commodities. This induced us to invite Mr. D. Hume, in whom we placed implicit confidence, who had already traded much with the natives, and traveled a great distance into the interior, to take up his constant abode on the station for that purpose. He built himself a mercantile house, and the measure has succeeded beyond our expectations."

CHAPTER IV.

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS IN AFRICA.

"There is a temple in ruin stands,"
Fashioned by long-forgotten hands;
Two or three columns, and many a stone,
Marble and granite, with grass o'er grown!

THE first modern traveler who made a complete exploration of the ruins of Ethiopia was a French gentleman, by the name of Frederic Cailliaud, a native of Nantes. His taste for archeology and for the natural sciences led him to travel, and on visiting Africa, he found so much to interest and fascinate him that he remained four years. Early in 1816 he ascended the Nile river to the second cataract. He also visited the Great Oasis in the Libyan Desert, west of Thebes, and then crossed the Nile to the Red Sea, where he discovered ruins of ancient cities.

Returning to France in February, 1819, after an absence of years, he immediately applied to the French government to be returned to Egypt for the purpose of making more extensive explorations. His application was warmly seconded by the French Institute, and in two months he received the appointment, and his instructions from the Minister of the Interior. Embarking on the 10th of September, he landed at Alexandria, accompanied by a cadet of the French navy. His plan was to first penetrate to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon, in the Libyan Desert, a spot which few travelers had ever reached, and which none had ever thoroughly explored.

Ascending the Nile a short distance, Cailliaud proceeded to the district of the Fyoom, lying a day's journey to the west, and was so fortunate as to find the governor, who had just returned from a successful foray among some rebellious desert tribes. The latter sent for an Arab chief, named Koroom, and an inhabitant of Siwah, named Youssef, who happened to be in

the Fyoom, and requested them to conduct Cailliaud to the Oasis. They made serious objections to the plan, but finally yielded, on conditions that the travelers would neither write nor draw, clothe themselves as Egyptians, and assume the character of natives of Cairo. The governor of the Fyoom gave Cailliaud a letter to the chiefs of Siwah, in which he declared that the traveler was sent by Mohammed Ali, and should be treated with the same respect which they owed to the Pasha. The camels were brought, and, after halting two days at the encampment of Koroom, they commenced their march into the desert. "The two eldest daughters of Sheik Koroom," says Cailliaud, "went with us for half a league, wishing us all sorts of benedictions for the success of our journey. I saw them collect the dust from the places where the feet of the Arabs, who accompanied us, had left their imprint; this dust they placed in a *takia*, or small Arab cup, which they held in the hand. I was told that this was done to preserve us from accidents; that they were required to collect some dust from the steps of each man and each camel; that, on returning to their tent, they would make a little hole in the top of the cup, and suspend it in the manner of an hour-glass; and that they would consult it every day to notice the duration of our absence, and calculate the time of our return."

At a village on the border of the desert, they were joined by a caravan of inhabitants of the Fyoom, with one hundred camels, bound for Siwah. Some of the native merchants refused to go, through the fear of being compromised by the presence of Cailliaud's party. The travelers were obliged to relinquish the idea of taking meridian altitudes, and could not make the least observation, even by the barometer, except by stealth. They were also exceedingly circumspect in their conversation, taking care to make no remark which might excite the suspicion of the Arabs. In two days they arrived at a mountain, at the foot of which, in a little valley, they found a curious well. "The principal spring is a funnel-shaped hole, two feet in diameter at the bottom. The Sheik descended into this hole, and plunged into the center a short piece of wood, which he

moved around in the clay, opening a passage for the water, which instantly began to rise. The Sheik then placed his legs in the orifice, and by twisting himself succeeded in thrusting his body down to the arm-pits. Another man mounted on his shoulders to retain him there, and when the latter quit his hold, the Sheik was thrown out of the water by the force of the spring, which is very abundant. The Arabs have the habit of crying aloud during this operation, which appears to them miraculous. The pretend that, without doing so, the water would not come."

The caravan continued its march over plains and sand, alternating with hard tracts covered with agates, and occasionally the remains of petrified forests, among which Cailliaud found the trunk of a sycamore eleven feet in circumference and fifteen feet in length. As they approached Siwah the earth became covered with a crystallization of salt, forming vast incrusted plains. Finally, on the fifteenth day, they saw in the distance a valley fertile in palms and acacias, in the midst of which was a village tributary to Siwah, and distant from it about twenty leagues. The village was built on the summit of a steep rock, and appeared to consist partly of the remains of ancient edifices. A curious superstition prevails in this place. A former chief predicted that the inhabitants of the village—men, women, and children—would never exceed forty. The people declared that the number had sometimes exceeded that limit, but the balance was always speedily restored by the death of the surplus population. When a child is born, they expect a death among the older inhabitants to make room for it. Cailliaud was not allowed to enter the village on the first day, and on climbing the rock the next morning the people shouted "Christian!"—whence he knew that some of the Arabs of the caravan had betrayed his true character. Youssef of Siwah finally declared that the traveler would instantly write to Mohammed Ali, who was his friend, if they did not admit him, whereupon they allowed him to enter, and presented him with some fine dates. "On the night of December 8th," says Cailliaud, "several chiefs came into my

tent and said, with a very mysterious air, that now was the moment to make use of my sorcery in order to moderate the anger of the people of Siwah. 'I had several occasions,' said one of the chiefs, 'of knowing how experienced are the Christians in this art. A Christian whom I conducted to the little Oasis, finding himself annoyed by the inhabitants and by a caravan of Siwah which opposed his research, suddenly began to write mysterious notes; and immediately those who designed to injure him humiliated themselves before him and kissed his hands, which proved his great power.' I was at first tempted to convince him of his error, but I reflected that in order to encourage him to serve me, I ought, on the contrary, to assure him that I was as skillful as other Christians, and he might depend on the success of my magical arts."

On the evening of the 9th they discovered in the west the palm groves of Siwah, and encamped near an old well. Youssef set out by night to announce their approach to the chiefs at Koroom, and Cailliaud was so excited that he found it impossible to sleep. "After marching three hours the next morning, we reached the first grove of date palms, and the Arabs fired a volley to signify our approach. Youssef came to me crying with joy that we had obtained permission to enter the Oasis. We proceeded onward by paths shaded by numerous palm groves; olive, pomegranate, peach, apricot, and fig trees enriched the landscape. The freshness of the verdure is preserved by tanks and abundant springs; brooks flow in all directions. These gardens appeared to us delicious, and the happiness of having been able to penetrate into this district, separated from the world by three hundred miles of sand, enchanted me. Every step brought me nearer to a spot almost unknown, and perhaps to the long-sought temple of Jupiter Ammon. Youssef presented me to three chiefs, who saluted me after the manner of the country. They made us encamp in a court under the walls of the town, near a place where dates were exposed for sale. The windows of the houses were crowded with women curious to see us. The people came in crowds around our tents; there

was an excitement in all Siwah. In order to disperse the crowds, the chiefs were obliged to prohibit the inhabitants of the place, Youssef excepted, from approaching us, under penalty of a fine of one hundred and sixty baskets of dates. A much more severe fine was imposed on those who addressed insulting remarks to us. This circumstance gave me an opportunity of judging of the power of the chiefs over the people, for the later retired suddenly, and we remained entirely isolated."

Soon afterward Cailliaud was called before a grand council of the chiefs and people, and asked by what authority he came. He replied that he was sent by Mohammed Ali. They then demanded the passport, which he had not been able to procure, as the Pasha was absent in Nubia; but he had an old passport, given to him for the purpose of visiting Souakin, on the Red Sea, which he presented. The only chief who could read understood "Souakin" to mean "Siwah," and ridiculed the secretaries of Cairo, who could not spell the name correctly. The final decision of the council was that the traveler should be permitted to see the antiquities of the Oasis, and on the third day he was furnished with a guide. He was first conduted to the Mountain of the Dead, a small hill of limestone, hollowed out with the sepulchers of the ancient inhabitants. Six miles west of the town he found the remains of a building, apparently of the Lower Empire, another hill of catacombs, and a beautiful little Roman temple, of the Doric order, in a good state of preservation.

Cailliaud now solicited the chiefs to allow him to visit the ruins of Om Beydah, the most important of all, which he conjectured to be those of the temple of Jupiter Ammon. He tried both entreaties and presents, but they refused, giving as a reason that the presence of a Christian there would cause the great fountain to dry up. They stated that immediately after the visit of two white men to Om Beydah, the fountain became dry. The inhabitants were struck with terror, and attributed the circumstances to the fact of the Christian having gazed upon it. The next day, on ascending the mountain of Beryk,

Cailliaud overlooked all the province of Siwah, and by the aid of a good telescope, saw the ruins of Om Beydah rising above the tufted palms. They appeared to him of gigantic size, and the desire to visit them became stronger than ever. "The sun was on the horizon; my guides had descended, I followed them, but at a distance, feeling myself unable to converse with them. I pondered in my mind what stratagem I could devise in order to visit the temple. I let them all pass on, guides, Arabs, interpreter, and remained in the rear. Reflecting that I was but a few miles from the spot, I determined to make an effort to reach it. Enveloping myself in my cloak, I approached the palm grove, but, seeing I was watched by the spies, I felt the impossibility of accomplishing my object, and returned."

During his short stay at the Oasis, Cailliaud collected some information regarding the place and people. The principal trade is in dates, which are produced in great numbers, and of excellent quality. The government consists of twelve chiefs, six of whom are elected for life, and the remaining six from year to year. Their deliberations are public, and the people all take part in them. Theft and other minor offenses are punished by a fine of dates; those who are not able to pay are conducted out of the town, placed upon the ground face downward, and flogged on the naked loins. If a murderer is taken, he is given into the hands of the relatives of his victim, to whom he belongs. According to their caprice, they may kill him, torture him, or set him free. The amount received in fines is appropriated to keeping the temple in repair, to supporting the saints or holy men, and to assist strangers who have been robbed in the desert. In spite of their mistrust, obstinacy, and superstition, the inhabitants of Siwah are very hospitable. The poor or strangers may go to the date market and eat all they desire; each one leaves his goods exposed in public with the perfect assurance that no one will touch them.

At last, by means of presents judiciously distributed, Chief Ali was induced to favor Cailliaud's application to visit Om Beydah; but some of the other chiefs and people still refused, until, on the evening of the 21st, the traveler offered to be

conducted to the temple with his eyes bandaged, seeing neither the country nor the great fountain. In the evening Chief Ali came with the permission to visit Om Beydah, but counseled the traveler to act with prudence ,and to depart with Koroom immediately afterward. These were also his intentions, and the next morning at daylight, accompanied by the cadet and four of the chiefs of Siwah mounted on asses, he set out. Threading the woods of date-palms watered by little brooks, for half an hour, they emerged from the shade at the foot of the temple. The temple consisted of a mass of ruins about three hundred and sixty feet in length by three hundred in breadth. The walls were not more than eighteen feet and the roof, a portion of which remained, was composed of blocks twenty-six feet long. "The ruin, although not extensive, appeared to me imposing from its grand masses, constructed in the Egyptian style. The remembrance of the voyage of Alexander caused me to approach it with a sort of religious aspect. My attention was directed to the walls of the temple; I looked for some vestiges of the presence of the Macedonian hero; but I found no inscription, no word in his language; all was mute; his name was even unknown to the inhabitants and buried in profound oblivion." After having measured and inspected these ruins, Cailliaud began to make a sketch of them. The chiefs of Siwah, who accompaned him, approached in order to discover what he was doing; but as they saw he drew nothing but stones, omitting the fountains and date-trees, they allowed him to proceed.

After traveling toward the east until January 10th, they reached a village where there were numerous catacombs, and the remains of an old Coptic village, but Cailliaud failed to discover anything of special interest. There was also a warm spring, mistaken by several travelers for the Fountain of the Sun, as our traveler supposed the oasis he visited to contain the temple of Jupiter Ammon.

Cailliaud's contract with Koroom being at an end, he asked the chief of the village to procure him camels for his further journey, and, in the meantime, employed himself in making a

topographical plan of the Oasis. In this he was soon embarrassed by the inhabitants in the same manner employed by the natives of the Libyan Desert, at the time he was in Siwah. The people here declared that he was putting their country upon paper, in order to show it to the Pasha, and thereby increase their tribute; while others declared it to be a work of Christian magic which would cause their springs to dry up. In spite of the passport of Mohammed Ali, which the chief read aloud, publicly, the opposition was so great that the travelers were obliged to make their observations secretly, but as they were detained several weeks, waiting for camels, they finally succeeded in making a very fine map.

On the second of February, however, a complaint was made before the Cadi, and the principal inhabitants of the village assembled around Cailliaud's house. The travelers were formally arraigned before the judge, and the most profound silence ensued, when an Arab stepped into the circle to denounce them. "I have seen that man,' said he, pointing to Cailliaud, "stop at a fountain and plunge therein an instrument of glass and of silver. After having withdrawn it, he immediately began to write." These magical proceedings, he said, were made to alarm the inhabitants. There was then a general demand to behold the instrument of sorcery. The thermometer was produced, and Cailliaud endeavored, but in vain, to explain its properties. When he made the column of mercury rise or fall, by applying or withdrawing the ball of his thumb, they looked on with terror, calling the Prophet to their aid. He then showed them a telescope and repeating watch, and exploded some fulminating silver; all of which the more firmly convinced them of his magical powers. He directed the cadet to take a telescope and point it to the sun; the interpreter made the people sit on the ground and observe profound silence. After the magical operation was finished the chiefs were allowed to look through the telescope, and they cried out in astonishment at seeing the sun through the colored lens, as a ball of purple fire. They appointed a man to watch him day and night, but the spy found the sorcerer's table

so much better than his own that he soon became a firm friend. Meanwhile the inhabitants busied themselves in procuring camels, in order that the dangerous visitor might be enabled to leave the country as soon as possible.

Cailliaud next proceeded to Cairo, and from thence to Thebes, where he arrived on the 14th of May, designing to occupy himself with archæological studies during his stay. He had a temporary dwelling made from the stones of a ruined temple, at the foot of the mountain of Gorneh; the roof was composed of the lids of mummy coffins. Here he occupied himself in copying the representations in the adjoining tombs; and finishing this work, he decided to return to Cairo, and make an excursion to the ruins of Cyrene on the Libyan coast.

In consequence of this, he departed from Thebes on the 6th of June, and arrived at Cairo after a voyage of twenty days. Here he visited Ismail Pasha, who renewed to him the promise of his assistance and protection, but added that he intended to set out in fifteen days at the head of a military expedition against Dongola. Cailliaud's voyage was therefore useless, and, after visiting the petrified forests near Cairo, he started on his return to Upper Egypt on the 27th of July. After a tedious voyage of twenty-two days, he again reached Thebes, but continued his journey without halt, except to purchase four camels at Darou, proceeding to Assouan, where Ismail Pasha was then encamped, on the left bank of the Nile. "The shores were crowded with barks, and covered with troops, tents, camels, cavalry, baggage, ammunition, and artillery; everything announced the war which was soon to be carried on in Nubia. These preparations had an important aspect; the cries of the animals, the acclamations of the people, the songs of the Albanians, the music of the cymbals and flutes, and the roll of the drums—all contributed to excite the imagination. The camp presented a picture of mirth; each one gave himself up to joy; the soldiers saw pillage in perspective; the Pasha flattered himself with the idea of capturing *forty thousand Negroes;* the Europeans were ambitious of reaching Meroe,

and, in that ambition, exposed themselves to the dangers and chances of an unjust war."

Failing to make arrangements, by which he could accompany the army of Ismail, Cailliaud left Assouan on the 25th of November, with a caravan of eight persons, for Dongola. On the 3d of January, 1821, they reached the temple of Soleb, the most beautiful of the Egyptian monuments in Nubia, above the second cataract of the Nile, and remained several days to examine it. Cailliaud considered it of similar style to the Memnonium at Thebes; he gives its length at three hundred and fifty feet, and counted the remains of more than ninety columns some of which, thirty-two feet high, are still standing on their pedestals. The temple of Soleb, situated in the midst of a landscape which presents the most enchanting forms, stands in a little bay of verdure, inclosed on three sides by the rocks of the desert. Whether the traveler approaches it from north or south, it appears unexpectedly, and the surprise of its first views tends to heighten the impression of its symmetry and majesty.

On the 11th of January, the little caravan reached the frontier of Dongola. "Our route was bordered by a grove of tufted acacias, which hid from our view the opposite bank of the river. At a quarter of a league to the west, we saw other acacias, with cultivated fields and the habitations of the Arabs. There, only, I felt that I had quitted Egypt. In Lower Nubia, as in Egypt, the monotonous aspect of the palms, the burning rocks, the sands which threaten to engulf the valley of the Nile, occasion a profound feeling of melancholy; but the region I had reached presented a very different aspect—the palms were there replaced by thick woods of acacias and of nebbuks. The verdure recalled France to my mind, and I felt the liveliest emotion in traversing this smiling country. We were obliged to traverse plains covered with thick woods, where it was often necessary to descend from our horses, in order to penetrate the little paths bordered with acacia and arbutus. The charm of these delicious paths made us disregard the obstacles we encountered. Vegetation, on this island, breathes of freshness

and life, the trees which have dried up by age, or choked by the violent embraces of the parasitic vines, still present the appearance of vigor and youth, under the tissue of verdure, with which these gigantic plants embrace them, forming arbors which no art can imitate."

The next day Cailliaud set out to visit Ismail Pasha, whose camp he reached after a march of five hours. He was received with all the political cunning of the Turkish race, and it was decided this time that he should be allowed to accompany the expedition. Ismail's army at that time consisted of four thousand men, of whom one thousand eight hundred were cavalry, besides two thousand servants, and three thousand camels. There were also twenty-four pieces of artillery. The Pasha had a body-guard of twenty Mamelukes. The diplomatic functions were exercised by three Ulemas, who made great efforts to subjugate the Negroes by moral suasion, and to avoid the effusion of blood. They often succeeded in this humane intent, and were rewarded with robes of honor and a sum equal to about one thousand two hundred dollars each.

The camp was broken up on the 21st of February, and after a march of a few days, worn out with fatigue, they reached the river. "Like the rest," says the traveler, "I rendered homage to him in quenching my thirst. In the twinkling of an eye the banks were covered with soldiers; all desired to drink the water of the river, or to plunge into it. The army appeared to have regained a new existence. The Nile, in fact, gives life to everything which breathes or vegetates in these countries, and the Egyptian who is afar from its creative waters seems to have lost the essential part of his vitality."

Cailliaud now learned that extensive ruins existed at a place called Sobah, on the Blue Nile. He therefore applied to the Pasha for a boat to ascend the river, while the cadet followed the army with the camels and baggage. After a few days' travel, Sobah was reached, but the only object which gave any evidence of the ancient character of the place was a mutilated ram-headed sphinx, about five feet in length.

During the following week the wind was adverse, and the

voyage was very slow and tiresome, but the desire of ascertaining the points of junction of two tributaries of the Blue Nile induced Cailliaud to continue his journey by water. After passing the mouth of the Rahad, the first tributary, Cailliaud on the 12th, reached the village of Kourdkeyleh, where the scenery began to assume a very different aspect. "At the dawn of day," says he, "I endeavored to enter the forest of Kourdkeyleh to surprise some wild animals. I saw there many monkeys, the fresh tracks of the elephant, guinea fowls, and birds of brilliant plumage, which uttered harsh cries. Since the Pharaohs, perhaps, no bark had spread its sail on the river which I navigated, and it was not without a keen satisfaction that I saw mine advancing before all others, fighting with the winds in quarters where the gaze of a European had never before penetrated. I felt an involuntary emotion in contemplating those trees, conquerors of Time, which age had not bent; those thick woods, whose eternal foliage never spread for the traveler a protecting shade against the burning sun; those inaccessible thickets where the shepherd never led his flocks. Savage Nature alone breathed amid this constantly renewed vegetation; the acacias, the nebbuks, the dead trees themselves were enlaced in the inextricable convolutions of the parasitic vines, thus forming a compact mass of verdure, through which a few almost impracticable paths allowed the light to enter. The shock of our oars and the sound of the water against our bark alarmed the inhabitants of the flood; the crocodiles forsook the solitary shores, and the frightened hippopotami, swimming in herds around us, seemed by their bellowings to reproach us for having invaded their domain. The river was bordered with the bamboo, the ebony, and other new and precious woods; we saw trees, plants, insects, and shells of unknown kinds, and rejoiced in the distinctive, yet hitherto unknown, physiognomy of this virgin soil."

The traveler passed the mouth of the river Dendar, the second tributary, and continued slowly to advance until the 21st, when, having arrived within nine miles of Sennaar, he finished the journey by land. The army had already been

encamped there eight days. The cadet and the rest of the party were comfortably established.

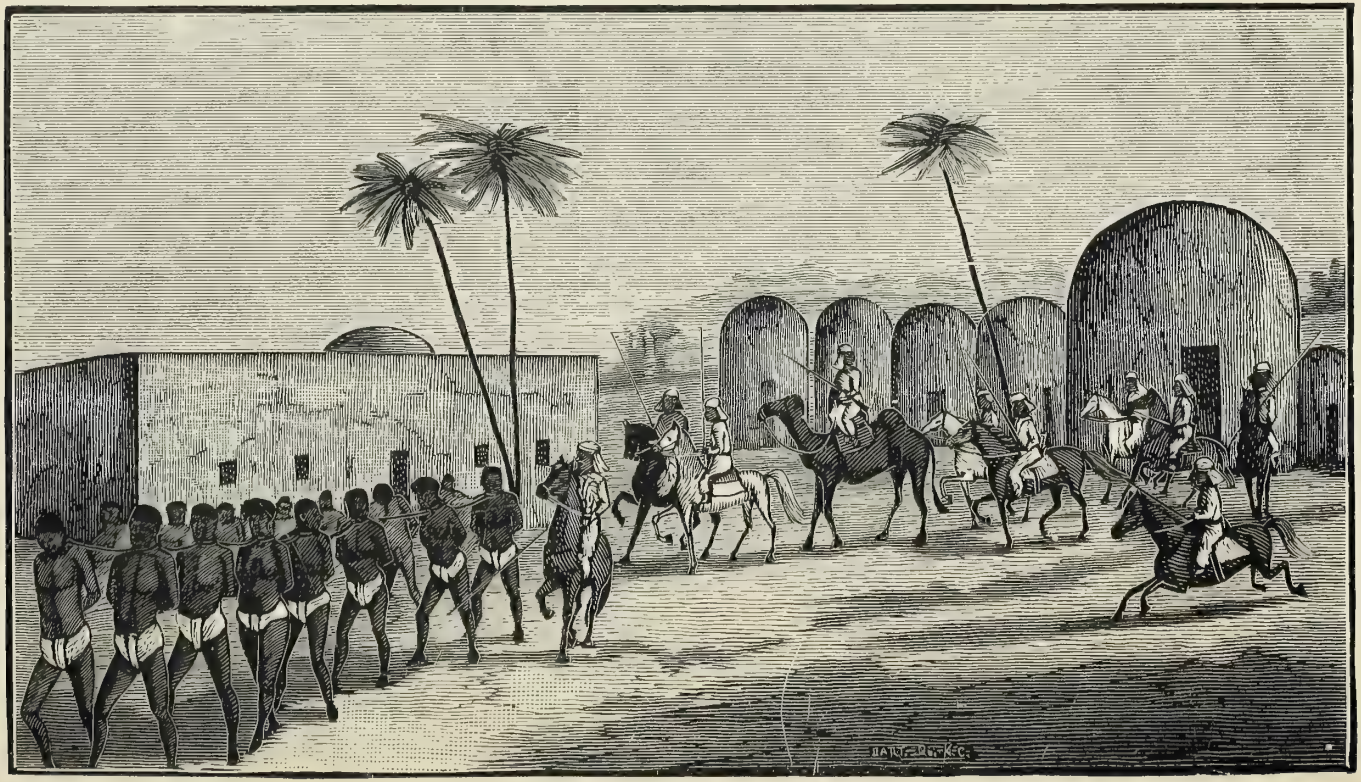
The Pasha left Sennaar, with his army, on the 7th, and commenced his march up the western bank of the Blue Nile. "All the villages which we saw," says Cailliaud, 'were mercilessly plundered by the troops, and I was obliged to follow their example in order to obtain a little dourra, some fowls, the fruit of the baobab, and the fresh pods of the tamarind—the only things left behind by the inhabitants, who fled at our approach."

On the 17th, after passing through a region abounding in wild elephants and giraffes, they reached a village called El-Kerebeen, a dependency of Sennaar, situated at the commencement of the mountains. The village is built in a group of granite hills, from six to eight hundred feet high. Ibrahim Pasha was at this time encamped four or five miles further to the west. Cailliaud, who went to visit him, found him laboring under an attack of dysentery, and very much dejected. He said to his brother Ismail, who was present, that if he did not find himself better in a few days he would return to Egypt. "Thus was dissipated, as I could plainly see, the splendid plan of a voyage up the White Nile, and into the interior of Africa. In the evening I returned to my tent with Prince Ismail, who obliged me to drive with him every day. I was the only stranger who had accompanied him in his last campaign; I only could write, and make known his exploits in Europe; and I could see he was ambitious of glory, as are the Turks ordinarily." On the same day, envoys arrived from the King of Fazogl, to announce that he was ready to give his submission. There then only remained the pagan Negroes to be conquered, whom the Pasha designed to capture and carry off for slaves.

As the army approached Fazogl, the country became more densely wooded, and it was a mater of great difficulty to pass through the forests of thorny mimosas. After two days they reached a group of mountains called Agady, on the summit of one of which was a Negro village. Many of the inhabitants had fled during the night; the remainder were called upon to

pay tribute, which they refused, saying the Pasha might do what he pleased with them. The troops were eager for an attack, and the order was at once given. Three hundred men mounted to the village, which became the scene of fire, slaughter, and pillage. One hundred and seventy Negroes, mostly women, were taken prisoners, and conducted to the rear of the Pasha's tents, with yokes of wood around their necks.

On the 22d, after a difficult march of eight hours through the woods, the expedition reached the mountains of Kilgou, where there was another large Negro village. "Ismail ordered the advance guard to march rapidly upon the place, surprise the inhabitants, and prevent their flight. This order was promptly executed; the rocks were scaled, and a large body of Negroes surrounded, who, nevertheless, defended themselves with unexpected obstinacy. The troops had spread their lines in climbing the hill, in order to surround as large a number as possible, but soon the difficulties of the ground broke up the order of march; they could not keep their footing on the masses of slippery granite which barred their path. Finally, taking off their slippers, which they stuck into their belts, they reached the first huts, where they found several women, who refused to follow them and were killed. The men on the summit of the mountains rolled down masses of stone and logs of wood upon their enemies. They dashed hither and thither with surprising agility. The Turks compared them to birds, for their feet hardly seemed to touch the surface of the rocks. Many of them hurled their lances from behind trees or masses of granite, and pierced the first troops who ascended the hill. Meanwhile the Pasha, tired of the prolonged resistance, mounted the hill with seven of his Mamelukes and some Albanians, but soon had reason to repent his imprudence. The Negroes suddenly sallied out of their retreat, and hurled their lances, killing one of the Mamelukes. After firing a volley into them, the Pasha returned to the camp. By this time the Negroes had cast away all their lances and sought safety in flight. One-fourth of them escaped, and the rest were captured. In this battle the Pasha had twelve men killed



SLAVES CAPTURED AT KILGOU.

and forty wounded; of the Negroes one hundred and eighty were killed and five hundred and seventy-five taken prisoners. The latter had crisp hair, thick lips, and prominent cheek bones; a few of them had flat noses. The men wore only a piece of goat skin tied around their loins, and the women a piece of cotton which reached to the middle of the thigh. There were none among them who understood Arabic. The Pasha allowed me to take two who appeared intelligent and good-tempered, and an Arab of Fazogl, who knew a little of their language, served me as interpreter."

After a rest of three days, the army resumed its march. On the 26th it entered a narrow, rocky valley, on either side of which were many deserted villages. The Pasha determined to put himself at the head of the expedition, and asked Cailliaud to accompany him. The latter excused himself on account of his fatigued dromedary, but the offer of a horse obliged him to accept, and, having armed himself to the teeth, he followed the commander. "We entered a little valley inclosed between two chains of high hills and overlooked by a mountain which we proposed to scale, in the hope of surprising the Negroes on the opposite side. It was necessary to break a passage through the mimosas and the nebbuks, the thorny branches of which tore our clothes into shreds. The Pasha had recommended me for my own safety to keep close to him, but this benevolent consideration nearly proved fatal to me. After two hours' march, we had made two-thirds of the mountain which was the aim of our expedition. We advanced up a rough and uneven path with the brink of a precipice on the right, while the peaked summit of the mountain arose on the left. A part of the troops were in advance; the Pasha followed them, having behind him one of his slaves, who carried his narghileh; I came immediately after, so near that the head of my horse touched his, and the Mamelukes after me, for the path was so narrow that we were obliged to march in single file. All at once a rock three feet in diameter fell between Ismail and myself, hurling down the precipice the slave who separated us. Without doubt the blow was intended for the Pasha, who was

distinguished by his rich costume; but one step more, and I should have received it! Ismail turned immediately, and I could perceive his fright in the pallor of his countenance; I confess, however, that he could justly have made the same remark concerning me. We dismounted, in order to avoid more readily the rocks and pieces of wood which the Negroes continued to hurl down upon us. We descended the mountain much faster than we went up, and, having reached the level spot, the Pasha played a piece of cannon against the summit; but the balls passing beyond, almost reached the troops commanded by his physician, who returned in great fear, without having achieved any more valorous exploits than ourselves."

During the next day's march they saw several enormous baobab trees, one of which measured sixty-two feet in circumference. The country became more open, but a new range of mountains appeared in the south. Although he knew that his army was surrounded by a body of five or six thousand Negroes, the Pasha neglected to place any sentinels around his camp that night. Favored by this carelessness, the Negroes cautiously descended from the mountains: the thickness of the foliage, the darkness of the night, and the color of their skins even, contributed to conceal their march.

They were but a pistol shot distant when, owing, no doubt, to a custom of theirs on attacking, they began to utter loud cries, hurling their lances at the same time. The alarm and confusion was general; no one knew from which side the attack came. The soldiers hurrying out of their tents supposed that the Negroes were already masters of the camp. A few discharges of musketry sufficed to drive off the foe, and the tumult finally ceased. During the confusion several cannon were fired, but so much at random that one of the balls passed over Cailliaud's tent, and another struck the earth about fifteen paces off.

Seeing that little was to be accomplished against the Negroes, in a country where every mountain or forest was an almost impregnable fortress, the Pasha determined to return to Kilgou. and take the direct route to Fazogl. The way was very

laborious and difficult; there was no water, except some ponds which were corrupt and stagnant; deep, rocky ravines crossed the path, and the army was beginning to suffer greatly from thirst, when a little water was obtained by digging in the dry bed of the torrent. "Having passed these dry water-courses," says Cailliaud, "we made our painful way through a dense thicket of gigantic bushes, acacias and nebbuks; our faces, our hands and feet were scarred with severe and inevitable scratches, and our clothes were hanging in shreds. At last, towards evening, we found ourselves all at once on the banks of the Nile. The sight of the water restored quiet to the troops, who were becoming discontented and mutinous."

On the 1st of January, 1822, they set out for the great mountain of Fazogl, which they saw in the southeast. The country was covered with thick woods; here and there grew tamarinds and down-palms of much grander proportions than those of Egypt. "This day was for us a day of misfortune. At first I abandoned one of my camels, which died on the route; toward evening two others fell into a ravine, and it was necessary to unload and reload, which consumed much time, besides obliging me to throw away part of our dourra. Meanwhile the night came and we were enveloped in gloom. We ceased to hear the footsteps of some stragglers who hurried on to reach Fazogl; the whole army was in advance and we sought vainly in the obscurity to find a trace of its path. My cadet, M. Letorzec, and myself were greatly fatigued and depressed. I went to take a drink of water, but alas! the water-skin had been burst by the fall of the camel. It seemed now that we must pass the night in the woods exposed to the danger of being attacked by wild beasts, or by the Negroes, in case we should light a fire to frighten away the former. Such was our perplexity, when our Arab said to me that he perceived a light in the distance; we looked, but discovered nothing, but finally it increased and we saw it also.

"This sight revived our courage. We hastened toward it, but cautiously, not knowing whether we were approaching friends or foes. I sent the Arab in advance to make a stealthy

inspection, and in a short time we were agreeably startled by his cries of joy. At the same time several soldiers, lost like ourselves, approached begging us for water. A single bottle of wine, which I had always preserved in case of misfortune. could not be better employed: we drank the half of it, and then resigned ourselves to pass the night with our companions in misfortune. This was the time when the cadet was seized with a fever which lasted several months. Early the next morning we set out to rejoin the army, which we found at two hours' distance, on the banks of the Nile, near the village of Yara, a dependency of Fazogl, where we remained several days."

On approaching the village of Fazogl, the Pasha was received by Hassan, king of the province, who went in advance, accompanied by his ministers, mounted on fine Abyssinian horses, and surrounded by a guard of a hundred men, armed with lances. They met Ismail at five leagues' distance; the King and his ministers dismounted when they perceived him, advanced on foot and prostrated themselves before him. Hassan presented him with two splendid horses; the guards approaching, arranged themselves in a line, knelt and reversed the points of their lances in token of submission. Ismail prohibited his troops from passing through the villages, in order that they might not be devastated; for it was not always in his power to preserve good order. On the 5th, the expedition advanced to a village called Tourmoga. Having learned that King Hassan was there, Cailliaud paid him a visit. "I entered into an ordinary hut, where I found the King sitting cross-legged upon a mat. He was a handsome man, young and of an agreeable figure. His costume was similar to that of the kings of Sennaar, but I remarked with surprise that his sandals terminated in curved points, exactly similar to those represented in the tombs of the kings at Thebes. On his knees he held his sword, in which seemed to consist all his magnificence. The scabbard and hilt were of silver; several heavy silver rings adorned his fingers, and around his neck he wore little leather cases containing verses from the Koran."

The amount of tribute to be paid by Fazogl was at last fixed at one thousand ounces of gold and two thousand male slaves, and the Pasha set out on the 12th for the gold mines of Kassan, lying two or three days' journey to the southwest. To Cailliaud, whose camels were nearly exhausted, he gave a horse, and to the cadet a mule, which enabled them to travel with more ease and rapidity. On approaching the mountain of Agaro, the road was crossed by a precipitous gully thirty-five feet deep, in passing which many of the camels were hurled to the bottom with their riders, and perished. The next forenoon the army reached the foot of the mountain, and encamped. The Negroes, full of audacity on account of their numbers and the strength of their position, had sent word to Ismail, before he left Fazogl, that if he came into their mountains they would break his legs. But, at the sight of the army and its cannon, they began to change their tune; they sent word to him that they would submit and pay tribute to him. Ismail entered into negotiations with them, in order to gain time until his troops had surrounded the mountain. When the Negroes perceived this design, they took to flight. The signal was then given for attack, and after a short struggle the soldiers reached the top of the mountain, when they at once set fire to the village. The inhabitants numbered about three thousand, of whom only about a hundred, mostly women, were taken, at a cost of fifteen lives.

The Pasha then determined to make another assault on the eastern part of the mountain, with eight hundred men and a piece of a cannon. "This time," says Cailliaud, "I was tempted to accompany him. The troops dispersed themselves over the mountain in the hope of stockading the village, and arrived there without trouble or resistance. It was deserted. In an instant the torch was applied, and five hundred huts were reduced to ashes. Old persons of both sexes, whom age or infirmity prevented from flying, were buried under their blazing roofs; others were conducted to the Pasha, who, not knowing what to do with them, allowed them freely to behold the horrible lesson which a more *civilized* people than they came to

teach them." On the 16th the army crossed a river called the Toumat, continuing its course in a southwesterly direction, and reached the mountains of Khasinkaro, when a deputation of Negroes came to meet the Pasha. They said that if he would continue his journey without doing them any harm, they would be able to pay him a tribute on his return. But the suspicious Turk placed little faith in their promises, and, as he was impatient to reach the gold mines, agreed to what they asked.

Following the course of the Toumat, which furnished an ample supply of water, the expedition skirted the mountain of Kassan on the 18th. The inhabitants of a large village on its summit promised the Pasha five hundred male slaves, as their tribute. Soon afterward they entered the territory of Gamamyl, and discovered in the west a long chain of mountains, called Obeh. The road here was continually crossed by small affluents of the Toumat, which had worn for themselves deep beds in the soil, making the traveling more difficult than any which the army had yet encountered. "The passage of these ravines," says Cailliaud, "was fatal to the camels; the route was strewn with abandoned animals and baggage. The Pasha himself had but a single good horse remaining. We were constrained to leave behind us a camel, part of its load, and the mule of the cadet, who then mounted the dromedary which carried my papers and drawings; but the poor animal, exhausted with fatigue, lay down. In vain did we employ every means to raise it; we could not succeed. That part of the forest in which we were was full of small dead trees and dry brushwood, which was imprudently set on fire by the soldiers at a short distance from us. Soon the flames were ready to envelop us: I resolved to loose the dromedary, but I wished to save its load, which contained all my papers. We had nothing at hand to cut the cords and straps which bound it, and in our anxiety made useless efforts to untie them. All was over: the fruit of so much trouble and peril was about to be destroyed by the flames. They cried out to us to save ourselves, but I could not resign myself to sacrifice my treasures. Already the heat scorched us, we felt the approach of the fire; we must leave—

I uttered a cry of despair. Meanwhile our camel, feeling the approach of the flames, rose, darted forward a little distance, and fell again. We ran to it, tore away the precious load, and placed it on my horse, which I led by the bridle, while my cadet urged it in the rear. But the wind drove the flames toward us; they advanced nearer and nearer; we were almost overcome with terror, when, oh, joy! the trees became scattering, and we issued from the woods."

The situation of the Egyptian army was now very critical. There was a general league among all the Negro tribes, to repel the invaders. The ammunition was almost exhausted; provisions were rapidly diminishing, and the latest news from Sennaar stated that the people, persuaded that the Pasha and his troops would perish among the mountains, were already beginning to foment a rebellion against the Egyptian race. The Pasha at last made up his mind to submit to circumstances and order a retreat. "The next day," says Cailliaud, "February 11th, was fixed for our departure. Before quitting Singue, I wished to overlook, as least as far as my vision might reach, the regions which an inexorable fate prevented us from traversing. I climbed a hill, and there, arrived with a telescope, I sought to discover the regions where my imagination had placed the source of the White Nile. Vain effort! I only convinced myself anew how limited is the space on the earth's surface which the human eye can embrace, ceasing to gaze at a horizon which exhibited only vapory and confused outlines. I carved deeply on the rock the name of France, and transported myself, in thought, to that beloved land. The army slowly debouched from the labyrinth of hills which surrounded Singue, cutting for itself a path to the west of that which it had followed in coming. We were still surrounded with enemies, and observed an order of march more regular than usual. This retrograde movement inspired all the men with new energy; even the animals seemed to understand that we were returning, and marched more firmly and rapidly. Joy was painted on the faces of all; the Bedouins and Albanians manifested theirs by songs; the remembrance of past

hardships was banished from memory, and all hopes were turned toward Egypt."

After a tiresome march of four days, the army reached Adassy on the Nile. Here the Pasha kindly furnished Cailliaud with his own barque, and he proceeded down the river to Sennaar, from there intending to return to Egypt. Before leaving forever, Cailliaud desired to visit the ruins of Naga near Djebel Arden, and those of Mesowurat. His companion, although convalescent, was not able to support the fatigue. It was, therefore, agreed that he should leave for Egypt in a few days, and journey by short stages until overtaken by Cailliaud. The latter set out on the 22d, accompanied by two guides and two servants. After journeying all day down a long valley extending to the south, he reached the extremity of the mountains where the ruins were said to exist. "It was already night," he writes, "and my guides did not consider it prudent to go further, for fear of meeting with the Shukorees, who were in open revolt. We unloaded our camels cautiously, and lay down under the acacias which surrounded us. Wrapped in a quilt, with my head on a bundle of papers, I slept soundly, my Arabs watching by turns through the night. I awoke at dawn, and, finding everything quiet, advanced through the trees toward the ruins, which I discovered near at hand. The first object which I saw was a temple covered with Egyptian sculptures, with its pylon, and a portico of Greco-Roman architecture with Egyptian ornaments. Still further were the ruins of another grand temple, with finely sculptured decorations, and preceded by an avenue of sphinxes; the substructions of several other edifices, and those of a public tank. I recognized here the ruins of an ancient city, the importance of which was attested by the nature of the remains which still existed, and by the extent of territory which they occupied. My guides arrived, and, in order that we might not be seen by the rebel Arabs, we established our residence in the western temple. I then began, assisted by my two servants, to make a more careful examination of the monuments."

Cailliaud found the largest temple to be two hundred and



AN ANCIENT AFRICAN CITY.

seventy feet in length, including the pylon and avenue of sphinxes. The sculptures of the interior are almost entirely destroyed. This state of degradation is owing, I suppose, to the insignificant height of the walls and the action of the tropical rains. The figures are without the indication of a beard so common in the sculptures of Egyptian temples. The peculiar character of their costume, and the *embonpoint* of their figures, give evidence of a people *quite distinct* from the ancient Egyptians, but who, nevertheless, appear to have had the same symbolic writing and the same religious ideas. For three days and a half the traveler remained among these ruins, sketching by day and writing by night, but his supply of water getting low, and the desire of examining El-Mesowurat before returning, obliged him to leave.

The ruins of Mesowurat are about six hours' travel northeast of Naga. "I was struck with astonishment," writes Cailliaud, "on approaching the immense ruins which were exhibited to my gaze. I wandered from court to court, from temple to temple, from one chamber to another, traversing the corridors and galleries which connect the different structures. In this rapid survey I counted eight temples or sanctuaries, forty-one chambers, twenty-four courts and three galleries, all surrounded with walls, and occupying a space two thousand five hundred feet in circumference. On returning to my guides, I discovered that we had only water enough for twenty-four hours. My intention was to remain here five or six days. I proposed to the men to go to the Nile and replenish the stock, but was obliged to pay them extravagantly before they would consent. I mounted on the most elevated wall of the central edifice, where my eye overlooked all the ruins. There—carefully studying the distribution of the different edifices around me—I became convinced that they formerly belonged to a college. Were these silent solitudes, I asked to myself, ever animated by the boisterous sports of youth? Have these ruins ever resounded with the voices of the professors? Yes, these rude figures of birds and animals traced on the walls are the work of childish hands; these names engraved in Ethiopian

characters are those of students; and these others, in Greek, are, without doubt, those of strangers, whom the celebrity of the institution has attracted.

"However extensive are these ruins of Mesowurat, nothing had led me to conjecture that the place could ever have been the site of a city. I found neither tombs nor any great number of ordinary habitations. A matter of notice is the small size of the stones employed in the construction of the temples. Taking into consideration this want of strength and solidity in the materials, in a climate where the rain falls for three months in a year, one is led to believe that the ruins which remain have not, like those of Thebes, resisted the injuries of time during a long course of ages. They evidently do not possess a very great antiquity. The tradition of the country is that the name of El-Mesowurat was that of the ancient fakeers who inhabited these rare edifices. This tradition confirms the opinion that the place was devoted to education."

Having escaped this danger, the travelers found that they had lost their way, and were almost in equal peril, until they encountered several straggling soldiers. On reaching the camp, Cailliaud found that his baggage had not arrived, and was indebted to the charity of some soldiers for a cake of dourra, after eating which he slept upon his saddle-cloth, in the open air. The place where they were encamped was called Abkoulgui, situated, according to Cailliaud's observations, in latitude 10° 38′ north. "The village consisted of a few scattered habitations on an elevated slope, whence the view extends over several other hills more or less wooded, and covered with isolated habitations. In the south one sees the distant mountains of Mafis, and in the west the long blue ridge of Obeh. Abkoulgui appears to be the central point of the province of Gamamyl, which is two days' journey in extent. It is watered by the Toumat and a great quantity of its tributary torrents; the soil is a clay, full of sand and pebbles, and showing everywhere traces of oxyd of iron. This province is reputed to be the richest in auriferous substances, where the Negroes have been most successful in collecting gold-dust."

The Pasha, impatient to test the value of the gold-washings, sent Cailliaud the next day to examine them. The Negroes had sunk pits eighteen or twenty feet in the bed and banks of the river and washed out in wooded bowls the earth which they took from these places. The traveler succeeded in getting a few very small grains of fine gold, after washing for some time, but the result was very unsatisfactory to the Pasha, who next day sent him to another gold-washing, with several miners and an escort of thirty men. Here he opened new pits, and carefully washed the earth, but the gold was found in quantities so small as scarcely to repay the labor. Finally, in the hope that the natives knew of rich deposits, Ismail sent an expedition to take some prisoners. Among those captured was a chief, who informed him that during the rainy season the floods sometimes washed down pieces of gold as large as beans, but that at the present time it was only found in dust and small grains. He indicated several of the most favorable places in the country, and offered to conduct the Pasha to them. Two or three excursions were made in different directions, under a strong armed escort, and the washing carried on vigorously for several days, but with no better success. The Pasha finally became disgusted and gave up the search entirely.

Meanwhile his situation was becoming insecure. The Gallas, who had overrun all the southwestern part of Abyssinia, and who are also enemies of the wild Negro tribes, were only five or six hours distant from him; the Negroes were collecting for a new assault, and he received word that a convoy of powder and other ammunition had been taken by the natives near Fazogl, and an escort of twenty-five of his men killed. However, being reinforced by a company of four hundred men who arrived from Sennaar, he continued to send out parties against the neighboring villages for the purpose of increasing his harvest of slaves. All this region has the general name of Bertat; the inhabitants are of pure Negro blood, and wholly uncivilized in their character and habits. Their only religion consists in the worship of large trees, especially the baobab, under which

they sometimes sacrifice sheep and goats. Their clothing is scarcely sufficient for description; their bodies long, and nimble rather than athletic, and they are not wanting in courage, as the Egyptian troops had already learned.

"Seventeen days," says Cailliaud, "had elapsed since our arrival at Gamamyl. I had undergone many fatigues, and yet my health had improved. I mounted my horse to go on the hunt of auriferous sands. We multiplied our trials, weighed the earth, calculated the proportion of the quantity of gold, but never attained any result which could give us the least hope. Those mountains of gold, upon which the Pasha counted so strongly, vanished like smoke; the thirty thousand Negroes which he intended to capture diminished to a few hundreds. It became necessary to try our luck elsewhere, and he gave the order for our departure. From the want of camels I was obliged to leave behind a fine collection of minerals which I had gathered together. M. Letorzec (the cadet), weighed down by fever, remained in bed during our stay; his strength visibly diminishing in the meantime. When he learned that we were about to set out for the purpose of penetrating still further southward, his chagrin increased his illness, and he was haunted by the idea that he would never see his native country again. We set out on the 5th of February. Most of the soldiers could not restrain their surprise at seeing that we were still marching to the south. The Shygeans had made a manikin resembling a man and dressed in the fashion of their tribe; it is an established custom with them to inter a similar manikin at the extreme limit which their hostile expeditions reach in an enemy's country. Some of them walked in order to allow this ridiculous figure to ride on a camel; at which the Turks were greatly amused."

The army encamped near the village of Singue, which was inhabited by Mussulmans. Moussa, their chief, had sent word that he was disposed to pay a tribute, in consequence of which the Pasha prevented his troops from approaching the village, fearing they might commit depredations. Cailliaud visited the place next morning, and found it to consist of five or six

hundred houses, scattered along a ridge three or four miles in length. It was almost deserted, and the traveler did not judge it prudent to remain long. The village was sacked by the troops the same day. On the afternoon of the 7th, while the greater part of the Turkish soldiers were asleep, according to their custom, a body of about a thousand Negroes descended from the hills to the westward. They were finally perceived, and the Pasha and his artillerymen aroused; but before the guns could be brought to bear on them, they had advanced near enough to kill some straggling soldiers. The fear of the cannon caused them to retreat precipitately to the mountains. Five hundred men were sent after them, but not being able to reach them, burned their houses. The Negroes renewed their attacks next day, and succeeded in carrying off eight of the Pasha's fine horses. One of the savage chiefs, who had been taken prisoner, was offered his liberty if he would obtain the animals and restore them; this he swore by the Koran to do, and was accordingly liberated, but neither chief nor horses were ever seen again.

Leaving the ruins, he overtook the cadet at Elkab, and from thence proceeded toward Mount Berkel, which he reached in eight days, and remained there more than two weeks in order to make a complete survey of its ruins. "Every morning at sunrise," he says, "I repaired to the ruins, and I did not leave them until night. In the middle of the day I occupied myself in drawing the interior sculptures of the typhonium, and the sanctuaries of the pyramids, where I sought shelter against the excessive heat, which was often 105° in the shade. Mount Berkel, isolated on the desert plain, is a mass of sandstone about four thousand feet in circumference. Its southern base is a naked precipice two hundred feet high, at the base of which are the temples, all facing the river.

"Among the sculptures are two cartouches, which, according to Champollion, contain the name of Tirhaka, the first king of the Ethiopian dynasty, who invaded Egypt eight hundred years before the Christian Era.

"The style of the figures and ornaments is the pure style of

the monuments of Egypt and lower Nubia. That part of the temple which is excavated in the mountain is in a good state of preservation. East of the typhonium there are many remains of walls and fragments of columns, extending for some distance. Among these I discovered two lions of rose-colored granite, of Egyptian style and beautiful form. Everything goes to prove that the vast ruins of Mount Berkel are those of the city of Napata, the ancient capital of Ethiopia, of which the pyramids of Noori were the necropolis."

Proceeding to Thebes, Cailliaud remained there some time, employing himself in copying the sculptures on the walls of Memnon's tomb. Leaving Thebes, finally with his companion they reached Alexandria, and embarked for France, and on the 11th of December anchored in the harbor of Marseilles. Cailliaud's account of his journey, in four octavo volumes, with an accompanying folio containing maps, plans and engravings, was published in Paris, in 1826. It is from this work, now in the Academy of Science, that the abridged narrative has been prepared.

CHAPTER V.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

Enslave a man and you destroy his ambition, his enterprise, his capacity. In the constitution of human nature the desire of bettering one's condition is the mainspring of effort. The first touch of slavery snaps this spring.—*Horace Mann.*

SLAVERY: "The right of property of one man in another man, in his family, in his posterity, and in the products of his labor." There is no injustice more revolting than slavery, and yet there is no fact so widespread in history. In antiquity the system of labor was everywhere slavery. It was found in Rome, in Greece, in Egypt, in Austria, in Gaul, among the Germans, and it is said even among the Scythians. It was recruited by war, by voluntary sale, by captivity for debt, and then by inheritance. It was not everywhere cruel, and in patriarchal life it was scarcely distinguishable from domestic service; in some countries, however, it approached the service of beasts of burden. The brutal insensibility with which Aristotle and Varro spoke of slaves is revolting; and the manner in which they were treated by the laws is even more so. These men, who were of the same race, who had the same intellect and the same color as their owners, were declared incapable of holding property, of appealing to the law, of defending themselves; in a word, of conducting themselves like men in any of the circumstances of life. Only the law of the Hebrew people tempered servitude by humanity. Doubtless we might quote certain words of Euripides or Terence, of Epictetus or of Seneca, colored with a more tender pity and evincing some heart. We find also both in Greek and Roman laws, on the monuments, and in the inscriptions and epitaphs which our contemporaries have so carefully studied, the proof that the granting of freedom to slaves, in individual cases, was frequent, and that it was inspired, especially at the moment of death, by religious motives.

But the brutal fact of slavery is incontestable. The evil outweighed the good in an enormous measure; servitude remained from century to century, from country to country, during all antiquity, the universal fact, and the legitimateness of servitude, the universal doctrine. To the rare and barren protests of a few noble souls, Christianity finally added the power of its mighty voice. The brotherhood of men, the dignity of labor, the absolute duty of perfection: with these three principles, clothed with the authority of God himself, the human race entered a new phase, commenced the great battle of good against evil, and, little by little, forced back the scourges which, in the past, had reigned with undivided supremacy.

Servitude was destined to be among the vanquished, but it was not without a long and grievous combat, which, at the present time, is not entirely terminated. The learned labors of M. Edouard Biot and M. Janoski warrant the affirmation that servitude had almost entirely disappeared in Christian Europe from the tenth to the thirteenth century; but it is only too well known that, after the discovery of the New World, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed the reëstablishment of this odious institution in all the colonial possessions of the nations of Europe. As we will hereafter see, the most Christian kings of France, Spain and England did not blush to place their signatures at the bottom of treaties intended to assure to them the monopoly of the sale and transportation of millions of human beings. An entire continent—Africa—became like a mine to be worked, furnishing the other continents with the living merchandise, to enrich and fill the coffers of potentates, kings and nations.

To the nineteenth century belongs the honor of waging against servitude a war, which is not yet ended, but which has been distinguished, however, by remarkable victories. The revolution is complete as far as ideas are concerned. Morality spoke first, and all the sciences, little by little, came to agree with it. Philosophy gives to all slaves a soul equal to our own, which Aristotle, perhaps, refused to them. Physiology declares

blacks and whites, despite important differences, to be members of the same family. History no longer discovers between slave-owners and slaves the trace of any legitimate conquest. The law does not recognize any validity of a pretended contract which has not title, the object of which is illicit, and one of the parties to which is not a free agent, and the other party to which is without good faith. Ethnology lifts to the dignity of a beautiful law the radical difference which places in the first rank the races which labor like the European, and in the last rank the races who make others work for them, like the Turks. Political economy affirms the superiority of free labor to forced labor, and it condemns everything which deprives man of the family. Politics and charity, from different points of view, accept the same conclusion: Charity, more tender, detests slavery, because it oppresses the inferior race; politics, more lofty, condemns it above all, because it corrupts the superior race. Thus the revolution above referred to, complete in the order of ideas, is not complete in the order of facts, as we will hereafter see.

History cannot penetrate the depths of antiquity sufficiently to ascertain the origin of human slavery, for it is older than history itself, older than civilization, a vice conceived in darkness and cradled in obscurity. It probably had its origin in war—in the captivity of the vanquished. "Woe to the conquered!" is the primary rule of savage and barbarian warfare, and the victor soon learns by experience that the gratification of killing his prisoner is transient, while sparing him for servitude he will reap an enduring profit, and thus in the misty annals of time we read how, not merely the vanquished warriors, but their wives and children, their dependents and subjects, were considered the legitimate spoils of victory, together with their houses, land, flocks, herds, goods and chattels.

We can see in the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, the destruction by Rome of Capua, of Carthage, and of other cities which had provoked her special enmity, that nations which regarded themselves as far advanced in civilization were no more merciful than savages when enraged by fear and hate.

The fruit of war is devastation and waste, the soil furrowed with cannon balls yields uncertain harvests. Rapacity as well as destruction seem almost inseparable from war. The soldier compelled to destroy for his chief's or his country's sake, soon learns to appropriate for his own. The rights and value of property and the distinction between "thine and mine" become confused, if not altogether obliterated from his mind. He considers it an act of humanity to enslave rather than kill; a kind act, rather than one of injustice and wrong. Hence the warlike conquering races of antiquity universally rejoiced, when at their acme of power and greatness, in the possession of innumerable slaves.

Slavery of a mild and gentle type may, even in the absence of war, have grown insensibly. The broad acres and comfortable cabins (of the land-owner) became the refuge of the unfortunate and destitute from an uncharitable world. The crippled and infirm, the abandoned wife, the unwedded mother, the tender orphan, the outworn prodigal, all betake themselves to his lodge to solicit food and shelter as a compensation for services. Some are accepted from motives of thrift, others under the impulse of charity, and the greater portion of either class, exulting in their escape from cold, hunger and starvation, gladly remain through life. Marriages are formed among them and children born, who grow up contented with their station, and ignorant of the world outside of his possessions. If his circumstances require a military force, he organizes it from servants born in his own household. His possessions steadily increase, and he becomes in time a feudal chieftain, ruling over vassals proud of his eminence, and docile to his will. Thus it is that the conditions of slavery precede the laws by which they are ultimately regulated, and it is to some extent plausible that its exponents have contended for it as a natural form of society —a moral development of the necessary association of capital with labor in man's progress from rude ignorance and want to abundance, refinement and luxury.

He who imbibes or conceives the fatal delusion that it is more advantageous to him, or to any human being, to procure

whatever his necessities or his appetites required, by address and scheming than by honest work—by the unrequited, rather than the fairly and faithfully recompensed toil of his fellow-creatures—was in essence and in heart a slave-holder, and only awaited an opportunity to become one in deed and in practice; and this single truth, operating upon the infinite varieties of human capacity and culture, suffices to account for the universality of slave-holding in the ante-Christian ages, for its tenacity of life, and for the extreme difficulty of even its partial eradication.

The ancients, while they apprehended, perhaps adequately, the bitterness of bondage, which many of them had experienced, do not seem to have perceived so vividly the corresponding evils of slave-holding. They saw that end of the chain which encircled the ankle of the bondman; they do not seem to have so clearly perceived that the other lay heavily across the throat of his sleeping master.

Homer says:

> "Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day
> Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away."

but he appears to have overlooked the truth that the slave-holding relation effected an equal discount on the value of the master.

The mandate of scripture, that "by the sweat of thy brow shall thy bread be eaten," has all along the ages borne the imprint of wisdom; and just in proportion as this injunction has been unheeded, so have peoples and nations been divided and scattered, for it is true that ancient civilization in its various national developments was corrupted, debauched, and ultimately ruined by slavery, which rendered labor dishonorable, and divided society into a small caste of the wealthy, educated, refined and independent, and a vast hungry, sensual, thriftless and worthless populace, rendering impossible the preservation of republican liberty and of legalized equality even among the nominally free. Diogenes with his lantern might have looked for many a long day among the followers of Marius, or Catiline,

or Cæsar, in vain, for a poor but virtuous and relf-respecting Roman citizen of the days of Cincinnatus, or even Regulus.

The slavery of antiquity survived the religions, the ideas, the politics, and even the empires in which it had its origin, and even upon the accession of the Church to supremacy over the Roman world it was not abolished as it should have been, for the simple and sublime teaching of Christ and of His apostles had been grievously corrupted and perverted. The subtleties of Greek speculation, the pomp and pride of imperial Rome, had already commenced drawing the Church further and further away from its divine source. A robed and mitered ecclesiasticism, treacherous to humanity and truckling to power, had usurped the place of that austere, intrepid spirit which openly rebuked the guilt of regal, voluptuous Herod, and made courtly Felix tremble. The Church had become an estate above the people, and their just complaints of the oppressions and inhumanities of the powerful were seldom breathed into its reluctant ears. Slavery of the white race gradually wore out, or faded out, but it was not grappled with and crushed as it should have been. The Dark Ages, justly so called, are still quite dark enough; but sufficient light has been shed upon them to assure us that the accord of priest and noble was complete, and that serf and peasant groaned and suffered beneath their iron sway.

The invention of printing, the discovery of America, the Protestant Reformation, the decline and fall of feudalism, gradually changed the condition and brightened the prospects of the masses. Ancient slavery was dead, modern serfdom exerted her sway only in cold and barbarous Russia. But African slavery—the slavery of Negroes—had been revived or re-introduced on the northern coast of the Mediterranean by Moorish traders, about the tenth century, and began to make its way among Spanish and Portuguese Christians somewhere near the middle of the fifteenth. Bancroft tells us that in the year 990 Moorish merchants from the Barbary coast first reached the cities of Nigritia and established an uninterrupted exchange of Saracen and European luxuries for the gold and

slaves of Central Africa. The Portuguese are next in the market. Antonio Gingabe, who had brought some Moorish slaves into Portugal, was commanded to release them. He did so; and the Moors gave him as their ransom, not gold, but *black Moors with curled hair.* Thus Negro slaves came into Europe. In 1444 Spain also took part in the traffic. The historian of her maritime discoveries even claims for her the unenviable distinction of having anticipated the Portuguese in introducing Negroes into Europe.

Within two years after the discovery of America, before Columbus had set foot on the Continent, he was concerned in seizing some scores of natives, carrying them to Spain and selling them there as slaves. Thus is the great name of Columbus indelibly stained by his undeniable and conspicuous implication in the enslavement of the aborigines of this Continent, termed Indians. Others extensively followed his example. The fierce lust for gold which inflamed the early adventurers on his track incited the most reckless, shameless disregard of the rights and happiness of a harmless and guileless people, whose very helplessness should have been their defence. Bancroft tells us that, "In 1500 the generous Isabella commanded the liberation of the Indians held in bondage in her European possessions. Yet her native benevolence extended not to the Moors, whose valor had been punished by slavery, nor to the Africans; and even her compassion for the new world was but a transient feeling which relieves the miserable who are in sight, not the deliberation of a just principle."

After the liberation by death or royal decree of the remnant who survived intolerable suffering, the western coast of Africa was thrown open to replace them by a race more indurated to hardship and toil. Religion was invoked to cover this new atrocity with her broad mantle, under the plea of relieving the Indians from a servitude which the larger part had already escaped through the gate of death. Even the voluptuous Leo X. declared that not the Christian religion alone, but nature itself would rise up against the institution of Slavery, and Paul III., in two separate briefs, imprecated a

curse on the Europeans who would enslave their fellow-men. Upon the suggestion of Las Casas in favor of Negroes for American slaves, in contradistinction to the Indians, Negroes began to be poured into the West Indies. Spanish slave-holders, as they immigrated, were accompanied by their Negroes. It was also proposed to allow four for each emigrant. Deliberate calculation fixed the number esteemed necessary at four thousand, and Bancroft tells that the very year in which Charles V. sailed with a powerful expedition against Tunis to attack the pirates of the Barbary States, and to emancipate Christian slaves in Africa, he gave an open legal sanction to the African slave trade. Negro slavery, once introduced, rapidly, though thinly, overspread the whole vast area of Spanish and Portuguese America, with Dutch and French Guiana and the West India Islands; and the slave trade was for two or three centuries the most lucrative, though most abhorrent, traffic pursued by, or known to, mankind. Profits on the nefarious business were greedily shared by philosophers, statesmen and kings. We read in Holmes' "Annals of America" that a Flemish favorite of Charles V., having obtained of this king a patent containing an exclusive right of importing four thousand Negroes annually to the West Indies, sold it for 25,000 ducats to some Genoese merchants, who first brought into regular form the commerce for slaves between Africa and America. Also that in 1563 the English began to import Negroes into the West Indies. Their first slave trade was opened the preceding year on the coast of Guinea. John Hankins, in the prospect of a great gain, resolved to make trial of this inhuman traffic. Communicating the design to several gentlemen in London, who became liberal contributors and adventurers, three good ships were immediately provided; and with these, and one hundred men, Hankins sailed to the coast of Guinea, where, by money, treachery and force, he procured at least three hundred Negroes, and now sold them at Hispanola.

According to Bancroft, "Upon the establishment of the Asciento in 1713, creating a company for the prosecution of the

African slave trade, one-quarter of the stock was taken by Philip of Spain; Queen Anne reserved for herself another quarter, and the remaining moiety was to be divided among her subjects. Thus did the sovereigns of England and Spain become the largest slave merchants in the world." When in 1607 the first abiding English colony was founded upon the Atlantic coast of America, Negro slavery, based on the African slave trade, was more than a century old throughout Spanish and Portuguese America, and had already acquired the stability of an institution. It was nearly half a century old in the British West Indies. Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish and British vessels vied with each other for the gains to be speedily acquired by the purchasing or kidnapping of young Negroes on the coast of Guinea and selling them in the American colonies of their own and other nations.

At the beginning of the present century, England possessed nearly 800,000 slaves, scattered among nineteen colonies, to-wit: More than 300,000 in Jamaica; 80,000 in the Barbadoes; 80,000 in Guiana; more than 60,000 in Mauritius; and the rest in the little colonies of Trinidad, Grenada, Antigua, St. Vincent, etc. France, in her colonies of the Antilles, Bourbon, Guiana and Senegal, had 250,000 slaves. There were 27,000 in the little colonies of Denmark, and about 600 in the island of St. Bartholomew, belonging to Sweden. Holland, which knew how to avoid servile labor in Java, preserved more than 50,000 slaves at Surinam and Curaçoa; but these figures are trifling, compared to the number of enslaved population of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, which amounted to at least 600,000 slaves, and in Brazil more than 2,000,000, and the United States, before the American civil war, had over 4,000,000 slaves.

France was the first to give the signal for the liberation of slaves—a liberation which, unfortunately, was sudden, violent, and did not last. In 1790-91 the Constituent Assembly, after much hesitation, admitted *free* people of color in the colonies to the rights of citizenship. The whites resisted, and when the convention tried to have the decree executed, the conflict between the blacks and whites led to the massacres which have

been so falsely attributed to the emancipation of the slaves, proclaimed only at the end of 1793, and confirmed by the decree of February 4, 1794, by which the convention decreed, with enthusiasm, the abolition of slavery in all French colonies.

Emancipation in England was commenced with more wisdom and conducted with more perseverance, naturally triumphed more promptly than in France. In 1102 a council held in the city of London, under the presidency of St. Anselm, forbade the slave trade. In 1763 an odious treaty assured to England, on the the other hand, the monopoly of the traffic. In 1773 a generous Christian, William Wilberforce, first wrote against this public scandal. In 1780 Thomas Clarkson proposed its abolition to Parliament, and in 1787 Wilberforce renewed the proposition, which, having been seven times presented and seven times rejected, finally triumphed in 1806 and became, at the Congress of Vienna, a solemn engagement of all the European powers, which was followed by laws promulgated by each of these nations.

May 15, 1823, Mr. Burton proposed the abolition of slavery in all the English colonies. After long hesitation, the act of abolition presented in 1833, in the name of the government, by Lord Stanley, was promulgated August 28, 1833. This memorable law, which devoted £500,000,000 to the ransom of 800,000 men, did not, however, accord to them liberty until after an apprenticeship, which was to last from August 1, 1834, to August 1, 1840; but this uncertain system could not be maintained. Lord Brougham proposed its abolition in 1838, and the colonial legislators spontaneously decreed complete emancipation in the years 1838 and 1839.

At the same time, 1838, M. Passy proposed to the French Chambers a bill with the same end in view, and in 1840 a commission was charged, under the presidency of the Duke de Broglie, to prepare the way for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies. At the same time, also, 1839, Pope Gregory XVI. published a bull, condemning slavery and the slave trade. The report of M. de Broglie is celebrated: we may call it a judgment by a court of last resort, which for the most

elevated, decisive and practical reasons condemned slavery forever

However, the sentence was not executed on account of the hesitation of the government and the resistance of the colonies. Slavery was not abolished in the colonies of France until after the revolution of February, by the decree of March 4, 1848, which M. Schoelcher had the honor of proposing.

The result of the emancipation in the French colonies was the liberation of the slaves in the Danish colonies, proclaimed July 3, 1848. Sweden had set the example of liberation as early as 1846.

The economic results of emancipation in the colonies of England and in those of France have proven most satisfactory, and under the new plan of labor, these four conditions of economic progress are fast being realized: the perfection of processes, abundance of hands, facility for credit, and the widening of the market.

As far as the moral order is concerned, all the results of the English experiment may be summed up in the words of Lord Stanley, in 1842, which were substantially as follows: "There has been progress in industrious habits, improvement in the social and religious system, and development in individuals of those qualities of heart and mind which are more necessary to happiness than the material goods of life. The colored people are happy and contented, they devote themselves to labor, they have bettered their way of living, increased their well-being, and, while crime has diminished, moral habits have become better. The number of marriages has increased under the influence of the ministers of religion, education has become more widespread. In short, the result of the great experiment of emancipation tried upon the whole of the population of the West Indies has surpassed the most ardent hopes."

In the French colonies, 40,000 marriages, 20,000 legitimate children, 30,000 acknowledged children; the population resuming a regular course and increase, the churches filled, the schools attended; at Guadeloupe and Martinique, 20,000 adults attend night schools; at Rinnion, 23 societies of mutual aid,

and among the freedmen, crimes against the person diminished, justice and the clergy improved, peace maintained with garrisons less strong than in 1848: such are the gifts presented to French colonial society by the emancipation of its slaves.

It would be too long to show in detail, year by year, the economic and moral results of emancipation, since they became complicated by the reason of the effect of political events and *attempts* at commercial liberty in France. Let it suffice to affirm that civilization has gained much, that wealth has lost little, that its losses have been repaid, and more than repaid, at least in all the colonies in which the new reign has been accepted in good faith. Finally, that the call of a million men to liberty in distant lands did not cause the tenth part of the trouble occasioned in the more civilized nations of Europe by the least important political question.

European nations quickly understood that the slave trade would never be completely abolished unless slavery itself was suppressed. Unfortunately, the United States of America did not understand this as quickly. The illustrious founders of the Union, fearing a dissolution of it at the very moment of its formation, and hoping that to suppress the evil it would be sufficient to dry up its source, limited themselves to inserting in the constitution that the slave trade should be prohibited, beginning with the year 1808.

As far as slavery was concerned, they had the weakness not even to mention its name, leaving to each State the task of ridding itself of the institution of slavery, which, at that period, was very little developed. In Washington's time there were scarcely 700,000 slaves within the whole extent of the United States. Washington freed his own slaves by will, and we know from his correspondence with Lafayette that he busied himself with plans of emancipation. Many of the Northern States successively freed their slaves, but the progress of the cultivation of cotton, the cession of Louisiana, the purchase of Florida and the conquest of Texas had not been foreseen. Sixty years after Washington's time, the American Republic had advanced with giant steps, slavery had grown with it, and the Southern

States contained 4,000,000 colored slaves. A fact so enormous, so abnormal, produced in the bosom of the Union a profound perturbation. Not only did honor and morality suffer therefrom, but a terrible division took place between the North, which controlled the commerce, the shipping and the tariff of the Union, and the South, which, previous to the American civil war, controlled politics, the Congress and the laws of the Union. This division culminated in the War of the Rebellion, and the abolition of slavery in the United States.

Slavery having disappeared from North America, its foundations were necessarily shaken in South America. The republics separated from Spain have abolished it. Holland delivered its American colonies from slavery, by a law of August 8, 1862, and a law, December, 1871, paved the way for its suppression in Brazil.

This rapid review is confined to Christian countries. In Mohammedan and pagan countries slavery exists almost everywhere; here more patriarchal, there more barbarous; maintained in the bosom of Africa by perpetual wars and a pitiless traffic. A Mohammedan sovereign, the Bey of Tunis, however, abolished slavery in his states, even before France, in 1847; but the scourge of slavery will evidently never disappear from pagan nations, except from contact with, and the example of, Christian nations.

We may hope that the nineteenth century will see servitude disappear; this would be its principal glory. The condition precedent to the disappearance of slavery is the persevering accord of all opinions, of all creeds, of all nations, that it should be abolished, and this accord is now an accomplished fact.

CHAPTER VI.

SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

"Ne'er more shall the sons of Columbia be slaves,
While the earth bears a plant or the sea rolls her waves."

IT may be laid down as a fundamental proposition that African slavery in the colonies never existed, nor was originally established by law, but that it rested wholly upon custom. The dictum so often quoted, that slavery, being a breach of natural right, can be valid only by positive law, is not true. It is rather true that slavery, where it existed, being the creature of custom, required positive law to abolish or control it. In Great Britain in 1772 custom had made slavery so odious that the Sommersett case justly held that positive law was necessary for the establishment of slavery there in any form; but the exact contrary of this rule, of course, held good in commonwealths where custom made slavery not odious, but legal. In these cases the laws which were passed in regard to slavery were only declaratory of a custom already established, and cannot be said to have established slavery. The whole slavery struggle is therefore the history of a custom at first universal in the colonies, then peacefully circumscribed by the rise of a moral feeling opposed to it, but suddenly so fortified in its remaining territory by the rise of an enormous material interest as to make the final struggle one of force.

When English colonization in North America began, Indian and African slavery was already firmly established in the neighboring Spanish colonies; and from there, particularly from the West Indies, African slavery was naturally and unconsciously introduced into the English colonies, the Barbadoes being the stepping-stone for most of them. Nevertheless, the first authentic case of introduction was from an entirely different source—that of Virginia, in 1619. This is the only colony

in which a first case can be found. Everywhere else we find slavery, when first casually mentioned, an institution so long established as to have lost its novelty. In each of them there are three points to be noted: the first mention of slavery, its first regulation by law, and the establishment by custom or positive law of the civil law rule* of making children take the condition of the mother, instead of the father. The latter rule, making children take the condition of the father, was the natural rule for English colonists, and would have made African slavery more tolerable, and would have established a constant agent for its ultimate extinction, since a union of a slave father and a free mother has been comparatively rare. The former rule, that the children should take the condition of the mother, which was everywhere adopted by custom from the beginning, not only relieved the system from check, but even gave it an added horror, of which the variations in color among the Colored Race are mute but indelible certificates.

In summarizing the introduction of slavery with the original thirteen States, we will begin at Mason and Dixon's line, going first southward, thence northward, and will afterward consider its introduction, or attempt to introduce it, into the Territories.

In Virginia the acts passed were, at first, for the mere regulation of servants, the legal distinction being between servants for a term of years (white emigrants under indentures) and servants for life—slaves. December 14, 1662, the civil law rule, *Partus sequitur ventrem*, was adopted by statute. October 3, 1670, servants, not Christians, imported by shipping, were declared slaves for their lives. Slavery was thus fully legalized in the colony.

In Maryland slaves are first mentioned, "slaves only excepted," in the proposed law of 1638. In 1663 the civil law rule was fully adopted by a provision that "Africans, or rather slaves," then in the province or thereafter imported, should serve through life, and their children also.

**Partus sequitur ventrem* instead of *partus sequitur patrem.*

In Delaware the Swedes at first prohibited slavery, but it was introduced by the Dutch. It was in existence probably in 1636, but its first legal recognition was in 1721, in an act providing for the trial of slaves, by two justices and six freeholders. With this exception, the system rested wholly on custom in Delaware.

In Carolina, under the first union of the two provinces, the Locke constitution provided practically for white slavery; the "leetmen," or tenants of ten acres, were to be fixed to the soil under the jurisdiction of their lord, without appeal; and the children of leetmen were to be leetmen, "and so on to all generations." This provision, like most of the others, was never respected or obeyed. The 110th article provided that every freeman should have "absolute power and authority over his colored slaves, of whatever opinion or religion so ever." This met with more respect, and became the fundamental law of North Carolina, without anything further than statutes for police regulation.

In South Carolina the first slavery legislation, an act of February 7, 1690, "for the better ordering of slaves," took place before the separation. Slaves are said to have been introduced by Governor Yeamans, about 1670. June 7, 1712, slavery was formally legalized by an act, declaring all Africans and Indians heretofore sold, or thereafter to be sold, and their children, "slaves to all intents and purposes." The civil law rule, already referred to, was made law May 10, 1740. The police regulations of this colony were filled with cruel provisions, as to the treatment of male slaves who should run away for the fourth time; and yet an act was passed in 1704, and re-enacted in 1708, for enlisting and arming colored troops.

In Georgia, as hereafter noticed, slavery was prohibited at the establishment of the colony in 1732. In 1749, after repeated petitions from the colonists, the trustees obtained from Parliament the repeal of the prohibition. In 1755 the legislature passed an act, regulating the conduct of slaves; and in 1765, and subsequent years, the laws of South Carolina were re-enacted by Georgia.

In Pennsylvania slavery is first heard of in 1688, when Francis Daniel Pastorius drew up a memorial against the practice, for the Germantown Quakers. It was not until 1696 that the Quaker yearly meeting was prepared to act favorably on the memorial. In 1700 the legislature forbade the selling of slaves out of the province without their consent. The other slavery legislation of the colony consisted of efforts, more or less successful, to check or abolish the slave trade; but as soon as independence was fairly attained, arrangements were made for gradual abolition. So late as 1795, however, the State Supreme Court decided that slavery was not inconsistent with the State Constitution.

In New Jersey slavery was introduced by the Dutch, but was not recognized by law until the "concessions" of 1664, in which the word "slaves" occurs. In East Jersey slaves were given trial by jury in 1694; and in West Jersey the word "slave" was omitted from the laws. Acts for regulating the conduct of slaves began with the junction of the province with New York, in 1702; but these were never harsh, and the condition of the slave was more tolerable than in any other colony where the system was really established.

In New York slavery came in with the Dutch at an uncertain period, the Dutch West India companies employing the slaves. So early as 1628 the inhabitants were made nervous by the mutinous behavior of some of the slaves, but there was no legal recognition of slavery until 1665, when the Duke of York's laws forbade "slavery of Christians"; thus by implication allowing slavery of heathen. Full recognition was given by a proviso in the Naturalization Act of 1638, that it should not operate to free those held as slaves, and by an act of 1706, to allow baptism of slaves without freeing them.

In Connecticut slavery was never directly established by statute, and the time of its introduction is uncertain. In 1680 the governor informed the board of trade that, "as for blacks, there come sometimes three or four in a year from Barbadoes, and they are sold usually at the rate of £22 apiece." They were considered as servants rather than as chattels; could sue

their masters for ill-treatment, or deprivation of property, and the only legal recognition of slavery was in such police regulations as that of 1690 to check the wandering and running away of "purchased colored servants."

Rhode Island passed the first act for the abolition of slavery in our history, May 19, 1652, in order to check the "common course practiced among Englishmen to buy Africans." The act freed all slaves brought into the province after ten years' service. Unfortunately, the act was never obeyed; custom was too strong for statute law, and existed without law, until the final abolition. The only legal recognition of the law was in the series of acts beginning January 4, 1703, to control the wandering of Indian and African slaves and servants, and another beginning in April, 1708, in which the slave trade was indirectly legalized by being taxed.

In Massachusetts an African is mentioned in 1633 as an estray conducted to his master. In 1636 a Salem ship began the importation of African slaves from the West Indies, and thereafter Pequot slaves were constantly exchanged for Barbadoes serfs. In 1641 the fundamental laws forbade slavery, with the following cautious proviso: "Unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars [Pequots] and such strangers as willingly sell themselves [probably indentured white immigrants] or are sold to us [Africans]." The explanations inserted will show that this was the first legal recognition of slavery in any colony. Under it slavery grew slowly, and the rule of *Partus sequitur ventrem* was established by custom and court decisions. Public sentiment, after the year 1700, was slowly developed against the system. In December, 1766, a jury gave a colored woman £4 damages against her master for restraining her of her liberty. John Adams notes at the time that this was the first case of the kind he had known, though he heard there had been many. In 1768 another case was decided for the master, and thereafter the decisions of juries varied to every point of the compass for twenty years; but it is known that many of the cases in which the slaves were successful were gained by connivance of the masters in

order to relieve themselves of the care of aged or infirm slaves.

John Quincy Adams gives 1787 as the year in which the State Supreme Court finally decided that under the Constitution of 1780 a man could not be sold in Massachusetts.

In New Hampshire there were but two legal recognitions of slavery: An act of 1714 to regulate the conduct of "Indian, African and mulatto servants and slaves," and another in 1718 to regulate the conduct of masters. There were but few slaves in the colony, and slavery had but a nominal existence.

Vermont never recognized slavery.

From all the cases it will be seen that slavery was but the creation of custom. The only exceptions are a peculiar provision in the laws of Maryland, 1663, and Pennsylvania, 1725-26, making the children of freeborn mothers and slave fathers slaves of their father's master until the age of thirty; and the laws in a few States re-enslaving freed men who refused or neglected to leave the State. This later provision was the law of Virginia from 1705, and was put into the State Constitution in 1850; and laws fully equivalent were passed during their State existence by North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. In the white heat of the anti-slavery struggle, laws were passed by Virginia in 1856, by Louisiana in 1859, and by Maryland in 1860, providing for the voluntary enslavement of free colored persons—but these were exceptional. Milder provisions, to the same general effect, to punish by fine or sale the coming or remaining of free colored people in the State, were inserted in the Constitution of Missouri in 1820, of Texas in 1836 (as a Republic), of Florida in 1838, of Kentucky in 1850, of Indiana in 1851, and of Oregon in 1857.

The most troublesome to the Northern States were the regulations of the seaboard slave States, under which colored seamen of Northern vessels were frequently imprisoned and sometimes sold.

In 1844 Massachusetts sent Samuel Hoar to Charleston to bring an amicable suit there for the purpose of testing the con-

stitutionality of the South Carolina act. He was received in a very unfriendly fashion. The legislature passed resolutions requesting the governor to expel him from the State, and an act making any such mission a high misdemeanor punishable by fine and banishment. Finally, on receiving unequivocal assurance of personal violence if he remained, Mr. Hoar left Charleston without fulfilling his mission.

However strongly custom may have established slavery in the colonies, it has been suggested that the validity of the system was at least made doubtful by the Sommersett case in England.

In that country in 1677 the court held colored slaves to be property, as being usually bought and sold among merchants, as merchandise, and also being infidels. In 1750 custom had so far changed that the law was again in doubt.

In 1771 Charles Stewart, of Boston, took his slave, James Sommersett, to London, where the latter fell sick and was sent adrift by his master. Stewart, after finding Sommersett recovered, reclaimed him and put him on a ship in the Thames bound for Jamaica. Lord Mansfield issued a writ of *habeas corpus*, and decided, June 22, 1772, that the master could not compel his slave to leave England, "whose laws did not recognize so high an act of dominion."

If the colonies, by charter and otherwise, were forbidden to pass laws contrary to the laws of England, and if the laws of England did not recognize slavery, was slavery legal in the colonies? It must be remembered that the Sommersett decision was not that the laws of England forbade slavery, but that there was no law in England establishing slavery. There was no attempt to make an English custom override an American custom, and we cannot draw any attack on the American system of slavery out of the Sommersett case.

The colonies then began their forcible struggle against the mother country, with a system of Negro slavery, recognized everywhere by law, moribund in the North, but full of vigor in the South. In the North there was a general consciousness that slavery was doomed, the slaves were gener-

ally regarded as servants for life, as persons whose personality was under suspension. In the South they were regularly regarded by the law and by private opinion as things, as chattels, with no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the government might choose to grant them, with all the consequences arising from the fact that they had not come to America voluntarily, as persons, but involuntarily, as property. In so far the Dred Scott decision correctly stated the feeling of our forefathers. But the feeling was in great measure a consequence of the unfortunate adoption of the rule, *Partus sequitur ventrem;* a race to which the rule was applied could be no other than animal, and a people among whom the rule prevailed could never be emancipated from the feeling. For this reason the Revolutionary Congress made no attempt to interfere with slavery, except in regard to the slave trade.

The state of war itself did little real harm to the system. In Virginia, November 7, 1775, Lord Dunmore proclaimed freedom to all slaves who would fight for the king, and colored soldiers were enlisted by Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. South Carolina refused to follow the recommendation of Congress in 1779, to enlist 3,000 colored troops. A return of the Continental army, August 24, 1778, shows 755 colored soldiers, not including the New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut or New York troops. At the end of the war, New York, Rhode Island, and Virginia freed their colored soldiers, but the system remained as before. The treaty of peace bound the British not to carry away any "Africans or other *property* of the American inhabitants," and this collocation of terms is repeated in the treaty of Ghent in 1814. All through the period of the Confederation, slavery received no detriment except in the action of individual States, and in its exclusion from the Northwest Territory, to be referred to hereafter. The States and the nation began their course under the Constitution with the same general system as before, but with three modifications: the appointment of representatives to three-

fifths of the slaves; the power of Congress to prohibit the slave trade after 1808; and the fugitive slave laws. The first of these made the system of slavery itself a political factor, represented in the government; the third offered a tempting and dangerous weapon to use against an opposing section; and the second was the death-warrant of the whole system in the double event of the acquisition of foreign territory and the development of antagonistic sections.

Until this time the difference in the slave system of the North and of the South had been a difference of degree rather than of kind. The basis and the general laws were nominally the same everywhere, and there was a general agreement that the system was evil in itself, and that it was desirable to rid the country of it by gradual abolition. But from the beginning the masterful white race had found in the colder North that it was easier to do work for itself than to compel work from the black race, and in the warmer South that it was easier to compel work from the black race than to do the work for itself. In both sections the ruling race followed naturally the line of least resistance, and African slavery increased in the South, and decreased in the North. The process may be seen in the number of slaves in the colonies north and south of Mason and Dixon's line, as estimated by the Royal Governors in 1715, as estimated by Congress in 1775, and as ascertained by the first census in 1790, as follows: *North*, (1715) 10,900, (1775) 46,102, (1790) 40,370; *South*, (1715) 47,950, (1775) 455,000, (1790) 657,527. Before 1790 the two sections had begun to show the contrasting results of pushing self-interested labor on the one hand, and unwilling slave labor on the other. Gouverneur Morris, in the convention of 1787, thus spoke of slavery at the time: "It was the curse of Heaven on the States where it prevailed. Travel through the whole continent, and you behold the prospect continually varying with the appearance or disappearance of slavery. The moment you leave the Eastern States and enter New York, the effects of the institution become visible. Passing through the Jerseys and entering Pennsylvania, every criterion of superior improve-

ment witnesses the change. Proceed southwardly, and every step you take through the great regions of slaves presents a desert increasing with the increasing proportion of these wretched beings." Nor was the assertion denied by the Southerners who hear it. George Mason, of Virginia, said: "Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the emigration of whites, who enrich and strengthen a country. They produce the most pernicious effect on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven on a country. As nations can not be rewarded or punished in the next world, they must be in this, by an inevitable chain of causes and effects. Providence punishes national sins by national calamities." Jefferson, in the same year, after detailing the evils of slavery, added, "Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, and that His justice can not sleep forever." But this substantial agreement in sentiment was very soon to be broken by an event which entirely altered the paths of the two sections.

Few influences have so colored the history of the United States or of slavery as the inventions of 1775-93 in England and America. In 1775 Crompton's invention of the mule jenny superseded Hargreave's spinning machine; in 1783 Watts' steam engine was adapted to the spinning and carding of cotton at Manchester; in 1785 cylinder printing of cottons was invented; and in 1786-8 the use of acid in bleaching was begun. All the machinery of the cotton manufactory was thus standing ready for material. Very little had thus far come from the United States, for a slave could clean but five or six pounds a day for market. In 1784 an American ship, which brought eight bags of cotton to Liverpool, was seized, on the ground that so much of the article could not be the produce of the United States; and Jay's treaty at first consented that no cotton should be exported from America. In 1793 Eli Whitney, of Connecticut, then residing in Georgia, changed the history of the country by his invention of the saw gin, by which one slave could cleanse one thousand pounds of cotton

from its seeds in a day. He was robbed of his invention, which the excited planters instantly appropriated; and slavery ceased to be a passive, patriarchal institution, and became a means of gain, to be upheld and extended by its beneficiaries. The export of cotton, which had fallen from 189,316 pounds in 1791 to 138,328 in 1792, rose to 487,600 pounds in 1793, to 1,601,760 in 1794, to 6,276,300 in 1795, and to 38,118,041 in 1804. Within five years after Whitney's invention cotton had displaced indigo as the great Southern staple and the slave States had become the great cotton field of the world. In 1859 the export was 1,386,468,562 pounds, valued at $161,434,923, and the next largest export (tobacco) was valued at but $21,074,038. Was it wonderful that Southerners should say and believe that cotton is king, and that secession could never be attacked by blockade, since the great commercial nations —even the free States themselves—would not thus allow themselves to be deprived of the raw material of manufacture. The reader may judge the reasonableness of the belief, and the magnitude of the temptations to English intervention, by the value of the English imports of cotton from the United States and elsewhere, 1861-3, and the coincident rise in price: Imports from the United States, (1861) $132,851,995, (1862) $6,106,385, (1863) $2,300,000; from other countries, (1861) $65,034,990, (1862) $148,358,840, (1863) $213,700,000; price per pound, (1861) 7c, (1862) 13¾c, (1863) 27½c. From a purely agricultural and commercial venture the cotton culture has taken a different aspect. Those who controlled it felt very much the same importance as a man might feel who had gained control of the magazine of a man-of-war, and could threaten to blow up the whole ship if he was interfered with in any way.

This development of the culture of cotton was pregnant with consequences to both sections. In the North manufactures and commerce were developed, and the remnants of slavery slid to extinction down a steeper and smoother descent. In the South the price of slaves was steadily increasing, and the increased profit thus indicated was steadily stamping labor itself

as slavery. It is not in financial matters alone that bad money drives out good: wherever slave labor was extended, it tended constantly to expel free labor from the market.

Immigration shunned slave soil as if by instinct, and it was not long before the whole population of the slave States was divided into three classes: the rich whites, who did no work; the poor whites, who knew not how to work; and the slaves, who only worked when compelled to do so.

The result on the economical development of the country may easily be imagined. No one was under any special incentive to work, to invent, or to surpass his neighbors; slaves, the only working class, could not be trusted to engage in any labor requiring care or thought; success in anything higher than the culture of cotton, tobacco or sugar meant the inevitable freedom of the laborer; and long before 1850 "Southern shiftlessness" had become chronic, hopeless and proverbial, even in the South.

Even on the culture of the soil the influence of the slave system was for evil. Only free labor can get large profits from a small surface, and the unwilling labor of slaves required so much larger area for its exercise that in 1850 there were to the square mile only 18.93 inhabitants in the Southern States, to 45.8 in the Northern States. Slavery, like Tacitus' Germans, demanded empty acres all around it. This constant necessity of elbow-room for slave labor was the ground reason for its constant effort to stretch out after a new territory. A planter's policy was to take up as much land as possible, scratch the surface until his slaves could or would extract no more from it, and then search for virgin soil, for it was cheaper to pass the Mississippi, or invade Texas, than to cultivate a worn-out plantation with slave labor. Scientific agriculture, or the revivification of so-called worn-out farms, were never attempted until the overthrow of slavery; and since they have begun, we hear no more of the need of new territory for cotton.

The influence of slavery upon the section in which it existed was particularly evil in regard to the possibilities of warfare. Not only did it throttle commerce, manufactures,

literature, art—everything which goes to make a people independent of the rest of the world—its influence in checking the natural increase of fighting men is plainly perceptible in the decennial census tables. Even where there is an apparent equality of numbers between the two sections, the equality is delusive so long as the Southern scale is partly filled with a population not only non-combatant, but actually to be distrusted as possibly hostile. For this reason, in the following table, taking separately the States which were free and slave in 1860, the population of the free States is given first, then the population of the slave States (excluding slaves), and finally the slaves.

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
NORTH.	1,968,040	2,684,616	3,758,910	5,152,327	7,006,399	9,733,922	13,599,488	19,128,418
SOUTH.	1,303,647	1,764,211	2,317,048	2,966,989	3,842,843	4,848,107	6,459,946	8,361,848
SLAVES	657,527	857,105	1,163,854	1 518,930	2 005 469	2,486,326	3 204,051	3,953,524

Whatever causes may be assigned to explain the growing disproportion of free population and fighting men of the two sections, it is evident that the slave States were worse fitted at the end of each successive period for a forcible struggle with the free States, and that the sceptre was departing from the South.

We do not propose here to touch on the moral aspect of slavery or the absurd Biblical arguments for and against it: the rigid application of the *Partus sequitur ventrem* rule, combined with the material interests of the cotton monopoly, will absolutely distinguish African slavery in the United States from every system that has preceded it. We may summarize the economical evils of the system in those points which no one can dispute in a few words. It paralyzed invention and commerce; it prevented manufactures and the general introduction of railroads, steam machinery, or improved agricultural implements; it degraded labor by white as well as by black men; it stunted all the energies of the people, and de-

prived them of those physical comforts which were regarded elsewhere as almost necessaries; it dwarfed the military ability of the people at the same time that it increased the military ambition of the ruling class, and kept the poor whites so ignorant that, to them, their State was a universe, its will sovereign, and its power irresistible. Every year increases the pile of explosives in the Southern territory, and yet the force of events compelled slavery to grow more aggressive, as it grew really weaker for war. That a people so situated, with no resources of their own and with little power to draw from without, should have waged the final war as they did, is almost enough to hide in the glory of their defeat the evil thing that went down with them. The enormous strides of the Southern States since the war show what the same people can do under free labor, and nearly all Southern writers are agreed that the South was the greatest gainer by the overthrow of slavery. President Haygood, of Georgia, in a thanksgiving sermon of 1880, says: "For one illustration, take the home life of our people. There is ten times the comfort there was twenty years ago. Travel through your own country—and it is rather below than above the average—by any private or public road, compare the old and the new houses. Those built recently are better in every way than those built before the war. I do not speak of an occasional mansion that in the old time lifted itself proudly among the score of cabins, but of the thousands of decent farmhouses and comely cottages that have been built in the last ten years. I know scores, whose new barns are better than their old residences. Our people have better furniture. Good mattresses have driven out old-time feathers. Cook stoves, sewing-machines, and all such comforts and conveniences may be seen in a dozen homes to-day, where you could hardly have found them in one in 1860. Lamps, that make reading agreeable, have driven out the tallow dip, by whose glimmering no eyes could long read, and continue to see. Better taste asserts itself: the new houses are painted; they have not only glass, but blinds. There is more comfort inside. There are luxuries where once there were not conveniences. Carpets are getting

to be common among the middle classes. There are parlor organs, pianos, and pictures, where we never saw them before. And so on to the end of a long chapter. There are more people at work in the South to-day than were at work before; and they are raising, not only more cotton, but more of everything else. And no wonder, for the farming of to-day is better than the farming of the old days: first, in better culture; second, in the ever-increasing tendency to break up the great plantations into small farms. Our present system is more than restoring what the old system destroyed."

The Louisiana Civil Code (Article 35) thus defines a slave: "One who is in the power of a master, to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry and his labor; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything but what must belong to his master." This comprehensive definition will show the status of the slave and the rights of the master sufficiently to obviate the necessity of any full statement of the slave laws of the States. As slavery rested on custom, its regulation was uniformly by statute, the constitution usually ignoring it, and leaving it wholly in the power of the legislature. Slavery was never mentioned in the State constitutions of Delaware, Maryland (until 1837), Virginia (until 1850), North Carolina (except the mere mention of slaves in 1835), South Carolina (except a qualification of Africans for membership in the legislature, in 1790), or Louisiana. In the new States slavery was legalized by that provision of their constitutions which forbade the legislature to emancipate slaves without consent of their owners, or to prevent immigrants from bringing their slaves into the State. Such provisions were inserted by Kentucky in 1792, Georgia in 1798, Mississippi in 1817, Alabama in 1819, Missouri in 1820, Tennessee in 1834, Arkansas in 1836, Maryland in 1837, Florida in 1838, Texas in 1836 and 1845, and Virginia in 1850; and these continued in force until the final abolition of slavery. Trial by jury for crimes above the grade of petit larceny was secured to the slave by the Constitution of Kentucky in 1799, Mississippi in 1817, Alabama in 1819, Missouri in 1820, and Texas in 1845, and by

various statutes in Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina and Maryland, but was denied in any case in South Carolina, Virginia and Louisiana. There were also provisions in most of the States for the punishment of the willful and deliberate murder of a slave. The benefit of both these provisions, however, was largely nullified by the universal rules of law, that a slave's testimony could not be received against a white man, and that the killing of a slave who should resist "lawful authority" was justifiable homicide. As slavery grew more extensive, the necessity for repressive legislation to act upon the slaves became more pressing, and the slave codes more severe, until every white person felt himself to be a part of a military force guarding a dangerous array of prisoners. Education of slaves was strictly forbidden, though the provision was frequently evaded or disobeyed in individual cases. The pass system was in full vigor everywhere, and even the younger girls of the white race did not hesitate to stop colored people, examine their pass, and order them to a particular house for examination. It was a strange society, always on the alert, always with its hand on the sword, and cruel and evil things were done. The burning of slaves as a punishment for heinous offenses was not an uncommon thing, nor was it by any means the most shocking of the crimes, in the punishment of which George Mason's prophetic words of 1787 were rigidly fulfilled. Many of the evils had a reflex influence upon the men of the dominant race; but the women, shielded from personal contact with most of the evil, and trained from childhood in the daily exercise of the heroic virtues, developed an unusual force of character, to which much of the stubborn endurance of the war was due, and even more of the sudden regeneration of the South after the war.

Black Codes, or Black Laws.—These penal laws of the slave States had a very direct influence upon the legislation of several of the free States, particularly of those to which there had been a large Southern migration. Ohio, in 1803, forbade colored people to settle in the State, without recording a certificate of their fredom; in 1807, passed an act denying to

colored people the privilege of testifying in cases in which a white man was interested on either side, and followed this up by excluding them from the public schools and requiring them to give bonds for their good behavior while residing in the State. In 1849 these "black laws" were repealed, as a part of the bargain between the Democrats and Free-soilers.

The legislation of Illinois in 1819, 1827 and 1853 imitated that of Ohio, and in 1851 Indiana inserted similar provisions in her State constitution, which the State courts, in 1866, held to be void, as repugnant to the Constitution of the United States. The same provisions were adopted by Iowa in 1851, by statute, and were made a part of the Constitution of Oregon in 1857. Wherever the State constitutions prescribed conditions of admission to the militia, as in Indiana in 1816, Illinois in 1818, Iowa in 1846, Michigan in 1850, and Kansas in 1859, colored people were excluded; and in the States where the composition of the militia was left to the legislature, the exclusion was as fully attained by statute. As a general rule, most of this legislation was swept away as rapidly as the Republican party obtained complete control of each State after 1856.

Insurrections.—No slave race has organized so few insurrections as the Colored Race in the United States. This could hardly be due to cowardice in the race, for its members have made very good soldiers when well organized; nor to the exceptional gentleness of the system, for it was one of increasing severity; nor wholly to the affection of the slaves for their masters, for the great plantation system, under which there could have been little affection on either side, had been fairly established in 1860, and yet there was no insurrection throughout the Rebellion.

It is encouraging to believe that the race, by long contact with the white race, has imbibed something of that respect for law which has always characterized the latter, so that the colored people, however enterprising, when backed by the forms of law, patiently submitted to legal servitude. It is certain that revolt, during their history as slaves, was regularly

individual, and that most of it was only revolt by legal construction.

In 1710 an insurrection is said to have been planned in Virginia, but it was prevented by one of the conspirators, who revealed the plot, and was rewarded by emancipation. In 1740 a local insurrection broke out in South Carolina, but it was stamped out instantly by the militia. In New York a plot was unearthed in February and in March, 1741, and, as a consequence of the intense popular excitement, a number of Africans and whites were hung, and several of the former burned; but the whole story of the "conspiracy" seems now of the flimsiest possible construction.

In 1820 Denmark Vesey, a St. Domingo mulatto, organized an insurrection in Charleston. It was revealed; Vesey and thirty-four others were hung, and a like number were sold out of the State. In August, 1831, the most formidable of all the insurrections broke out in Southampton County, near Norfolk, Virginia, led by Nat Turner. He believed that he had been instructed by Heaven three years before to rebel, the sign being an eclipse of the sun in February, 1831; but, oppressed by a sense of the greatness of the task, he fell sick and did not begin until August. With fifty associates, he then began a massacre of the whites, sparing neither age nor sex. The insurrection was at once suppressed, and Turner, after several weeks' concealment, was captured and executed in November. The total loss of life was sixty-one whites and over a hundred colored. The Seminole War in Florida partook very much of the character of an African insurrection. While Florida was under Spanish rule, very many fugitive slaves had taken refuge there and intermarried with the Indians; and the desire of reclaiming them was the secret of many of the Indian difficulties of that region. In 1816 American troops blew up the "Negro fort" on the Appalachicola, which was the headquarters of the fugitives. On the annexation of Florida, slave-hunting increased in eagerness, and the fugitives were pursued into the everglades. In 1833 the Seminoles had about two hundred slaves of their own and twelve hundred fugitives.

One of the latter, the wife of Osceola, was seized while trading at Fort King, and her enraged husband at once began open war. It was conducted with inhuman cruelty on both sides, the most prominent example being the massacre of Major Dade's command December 28, 1835. The American commanders hardly ever made any secret of the great object of the war, the recapture of the fugitives, and, as the Seminoles refused to make any treaty in which the fugitives were not included, the war was long and expensive.

In 1845 a treaty was arranged for the removal of both Seminoles and fugitives beyond the Mississippi, but the claimants pursued the latter with every form of legal attack, secured some of them, and, in 1852, obtained payment from Congress for the remainder. The Harper's Ferry insurrection, given elsewhere, closed the list of colored revolts.

The System Externally—The Slave Trade.—It has long been a general belief that the colonies, before the Revolution, were anxious to prohibit the slave trade, but were prevented by the Crown's instructions to the governors to veto any such laws, and the Virginia declaration of June 29, 1776, denounces the King for "prompting our slaves to rise in arms among us, those very Africans whom, by an inhuman use of his negative, he had refused us permission to exclude by law." The case is complete enough against the Crown.

From the time of Hawkins' slaving cruise, in 1562, the British government was an active partner in the slave trade. By the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 it secured for one of its monopolies the slave trade from Africa to the West Indies; in 1750 it beneficently threw open the trade to all its subjects, and its consistent policy is well stated in the official declaration of the Earl of Dartmouth in 1775 that "the colonies must not be allowed to check, or discourage in any degree, a traffic so beneficial to the nation." But it is not so easy to clear the skirts of the colonies. The assertion of their desire to suppress the trade rests on a great number of acts laying duties upon it; the titles of twenty-four of these acts in Virginia are given in Judge Tucker's appendix to Blackstone;

but almost invariably these acts were passed for revenue only, and the Virgina act of 1752 notices in its preamble that the duty has been found "no way burdensome to the traders." It was not until the opening of the Revolution that any honest effort was made to suppress the trade, except in Pennsylvania, where bills to abolish the slave trade were passed in 1712, 1714 and 1717, and vetoed. The Massachusetts General Court passed a bill to prohibit the slave trade March 7, 1774; and another, June 16, followed, but both were vetoed.

It was prohibited, further, by Rhode Island in June, 1774, by Connecticut in October, 1774, and by the non-importation covenant of the Continental Congress, October 24, 1774, as follows: "We will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it."

This covenant, ratified by the States North and South, checked the trade for a time.

No further attempt was made by Congress to interfere with the trade, and the ratification of the Articles of Confederation in 1781 gave the States the power to regulate this and all other species of commerce.

In the formation of the Constitution the question of the regulation of the slave trade offered a great difficulty. The three Southern States demanded its continuance, alleging that Virginia and Maryland desired to prohibit it only to secure a domestic market for their own surplus slaves. The matter was compromised by allowing Congress to prohibit it after 1808. In the meantime, the act of March 22, 1794, prohibited the carrying of slaves by American citizens from one foreign country to another. The act of May 10, 1800, allowing United States war-vessels to seize ships engaged in such trade, and the act of February 28, 1803, prohibited the introduction of slaves into States which had forbidden the slave trade by law. Virginia had done so, by statute in 1778 and 1785, Georgia by

constitutional provision in 1798, South Carolina by statute in 1798. Finally, Congress, by act of March 2, 1807, prohibited the importation of slaves altogether after the close of the year; the act of April 20, 1818, and March 3, 1819, authorized the President to send cruisers to the coast of Africa to stop the trade; and the act of May 15, 1820, declared the foreign slave trade to be piracy. It cannot, however, be truly said that the slave trade was abolished—it never really ceased before 1865. The census of 1870 assigns Africa as the birthplace of nearly 2,000 colored people, and it is impossible even to estimate the number illegally imported from 1808 until 1865. The sixth section of the act of March 2, 1807, allowed colored people, confiscated under the act, to be disposed of as the legislature of the State might direct. The Southern legislatures promptly directed the sale of the confiscated Africans.

This absurd section, which introduced slaves into the South, while punishing the importer, was repealed March 3, 1819, and the confiscated Africans were ordered to be returned to their native land.

The claim of British naval officers on the African coast to visit and search vessels flying the American flag, but suspected of being slavers, was steadily resisted by the American government, and led to an infinite variety of diplomatic difficulties and correspondence. It was finally compromised by Articles VIII. and IX. of the Webster-Ashburton treaty, August 9, 1842, by which the two governments agreed to maintain independent squadrons on the African coast to act in conjunction. Difficult as this made the slave trade, it by no means suppressed it. And as the price of Africans in the South rose higher, importations increased, and so did the difficulties of obtaining convictions from Southern juries. The most notorious case was that of the Georgia yacht "Wanderer" in December, 1858, but it was not the only one. According to the *Evening Post*, of New York city, 85 vessels were fitted out from that port for the slave trade during the eighteen months of 1858-60, the names of the vessels being given; and another

newspaper of the same city estimated the cargoes introduced by these New York vessels alone at from 30,000 to 60,000 Africans annually. Said a Georgia delegate in the Charleston Convention of 1860: "If any of you Northern Democrats will go home with me to my plantation, I will show you some darkies that I bought in Virginia, some in Delaware, some in Florida, and I will also show you the pure African, 'the noblest Roman of them all.' I represent the African slave trade interest of my section." In 1858 an ingenious attempt was made to evade the law. A Charleston vessel applied for a clearance to the African coast, "for the purpose of taking on board African emigrants in accordance with the United States laws." Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, refused to give the clearance.

As we approach the year 1860, we find growing apprehensions of the re-opening of the foreign slave trade. It must be remembered that Congress was only permitted, not directed, to abolish the trade after 1808, and that a simple repeal of the law of 1807 would have made it as legal as any other branch of commerce. The inherent weakness of the system of slavery, which grew weaker as it widened, imperatively demanded the repeal. To retain political power it was necessary to introduce the custom of slavery into the new Territories in order to prepare them to be slave States. For this the domestic supply would not suffice; and Alexander H. Stephens, in his farewell speech to his constituents, July 2, 1859, says "that his object is to bring clearly to your mind the great truth that without an increase of African slaves from abroad, you may not expect to look for many more slave States." The repeal of the law of 1807, and the revival of the foreign slave trade, were advocated by the Southern commercial convention in 1858 and 1859, by De Bow's Review, and by a great and growing number of leading men and newspapers. It was even taking the aspect of a new phase of a distinct Southern political creed, an effort to repeal that which was a standing condemnation of slave-holding and slave-holders. Before anything definite could be attempted, Secession intervened. The

Constitution of the Confederate States forbade the foreign slave trade, and "required" Congress to pass such laws as should effectually prevent the same. How long this prohibition would have endured if independence had been achieved can only be conjectured, but it is certain that a slave-holding government would have found far more difficulty in enforcing such a prohibition than the Government of the United States had found.

We will now consider the domestic slave trade: Even barring Secession and Rebellion, African slavery had always a possible danger in the undoubted power of Congress to regulate commerce "between the States." Should this power ever find a majority in Congress ready to apply it in an unfriendly spirit to the sale of slaves from State to State, and thus to coop up each body of slaves in its own territory, the system would be injured in a vital point. For this reason the ninth section of the Act of 1807 allowed the transfer of slaves from point to point, along the coast, in vessels of not more than forty tons burden. After the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, American coasting vessels with slaves on board would occasionally be forced by a stress of weather into British West India ports, and the authorities at once liberated the slaves. Diplomatic complications followed, of course; but the British Government steadily refused to pay for the slaves liberated, except in cases which had occurred before the abolition of slavery in the colonies. The domestic slave trade by land was never interfered with, until the abolition of slavery, except by the unavoidable operations of war during the Rebellion. A bill was introduced by Sumner in 1864 to prohibit it, but it came to nothing. A bill to repeal the sections of the Act of 1807, permitting the coastwise slave trade, was added as a rider to an appropriation bill, and became law July 2, 1864.

The Suffrage Clause and the Slave Power.—The Constitution gave to the States in which slavery existed legal representation in the lower house of Congress for three-fifths of their slaves. In this provision there was innate an influence,

which was as potent on the political aspect of the slave system as the cotton culture was upon its material aspect. It must be remembered that in spite of the number of slaves in the South, slave-*owning* was not at all general in that section. In 1850 the white population of the South was 6,459,946, and De Bow, superintendent of the census, and a pro-slavery Southerner, gives the number of slave-holders as only 347,525, classified as follows: holders of one slave, 68,820; two to five slaves, 105,683; six to ten slaves, 80,765; eleven to twenty slaves, 54,595; twenty-one to fifty slaves, 29,733; fifty-one to one hundred slaves, 6,196; one hundred and one to two hundred slaves, 1,479; two hundred and one to three hundred slaves, 187; three hundred and one to five hundred slaves, 56; five hundred and one to one thousand slaves, 9; over one thousand slaves, 2. But even this statement, De Bow admits, has an element of deceptiveness, for most of the small holders were not slave-owners, but slave-hirers; and he estimates the actual number of slave-owners at 186,551.

In 1850 ninety of the two hundred and thirty-four members of the House of Representatives were apportioned to the slave-holding States. If we omit from their population three-fifths of the number of their slaves in 1850, they would have been entitled, in round numbers, to but seventy representatives. The other twenty members represented only the 186,551 slave-owners, and the loosest examination of the majorities by which bills passed the House of Representatives, during the anti-slavery conflict, will show that the introduction of these twenty votes was usually the decisive factor, down to 1855. This consequence was apparent from an early date. The repeal of the suffrage clause was demanded in 1814, and the demand grew still stronger after 1833, and never failed to excite the hottest wrath of Southern members. Perhaps the occasion which aroused the most intense feeling was the presentation by John Quincy Adams in Congress, December 21, 1843, of a formal proposal from the Democratic Legislature of Massachusetts to amend the Constitution by the repeal of the three-fifths clause.

In Congress it was denounced unsparingly, and refused the privilege of printing, and out of Congress the fervor of denunciation was unreportable.

But the direct operation of the three-fifths clause was far less than its indirect influence. It must be remembered that the 20,000 slave-owners necessarily included in their ranks almost all the governors, judges, legislators, and leading men of the slave States, and their senators and representatives also, since the purchase of one or more slaves was the first step of any man who began to acquire wealth; and that all these men were united by a common purpose, the protection of property, which was superior in its every-day operation to almost any other claim. Practically, then the 200,000 slave-owners, recruited from time to time by new accessions, formed a dominant class; and the ninety representatives and thirty senators (in 1850) not only represented them, but were selected from their number. Such a political force as this had never before appeared in American politics: the utmost conceivable evils of the influence of corporations must pale their fires before it; and it is no wonder that, as it rose gloomier and more threatening upon the Southern sky, the instinctive political sense of the people gave it the name of the "slave power." In the nature of things this power could not be conservative: it must be aggressive, for the interest represented by it demanded extension to obtain profit; and yet as it grew wider it grew weaker, and needed still warmer support. The general double-acting rule was: the more slaves the more territory, the more territory the more slaves. It was not in human nature for the men who made up the slave power to resist an influence so constant, so natural, so silent, and so powerful, and the vicious twist given by it to the whole Southern policy grew stronger yearly. No influence, even that of honor, could resist its undermining, or escape being argued away. It was progressively successful in transplanting the custom of slavery beyond the Mississippi, in swinging the whole force of the nation upon Mexico, for the acquisition of new slave territory, and in violating the condition precedent, on which it had obtained the admission of Missouri

as a slave State; and it was partially prepared in 1861 to shock the conscience of civilization by re-opening the foreign slave trade, to whose suppression the good faith of the nation was pledged. But before this last effort could be made, its time had come. The internal defects of the combined cotton-slave system could not remain stationary. Nothing is more certain than that, from 1840 to 1860, the number of slave-owners was diminishing, particularly in the Gulf States. The plantations were growing larger, the cotton culture was becoming less and less patriarchal, and more and more of a business, and the slave power itself was growing more compact, grasping and reckless. It might have been that, without Secession, this concentrating process would have gone on, until the non-slave-holding whites of the South would have united against it; but that possibility was never tried. In 1860 the rising anti-slavery tide of the North and West came into flat collision with the rising tide of the slave power. An equilibrium was at last restored by violence.

It was not alone the inherent, grasping nature of the slave power which affronted the non-slave-holding States, and helped to bring about the final catastrophe. It is no reflection upon Southern legislators of the present to say that the slave-holding member of Congress, until 1861, was an exceedingly unpleasant personage. His faults of thought, feeling, expression, and manners were long ago explained by Jefferson: "If a parent had no other motive within his own philanthropy or in his self-love for restraining the intemperance of passion toward his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose rein to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities."

However unjust it may be in theory to wage a political crusade against bad manners, it is as certain as anything can be that the political Union of the free States in 1860 was

largely brought about by the odious peculiarities of slave-holding members of Congress in debate. Their boisterous violence, their willingness to take liberties of language, contrasted with their unwillingness to allow the same liberty to opponents, their disposition to supplement discussion with actual violence, or threats of it, the indescribable and merciless assumption of an acknowledged superiority, made the debates of 1850-60 a shameful record, and are still remembered by their old opponents, with a certain soreness, as "plantation manners."

It was bad enough that a senator (Sumner) should be clubbed into unconsciousness for words spoken in debate; it was, if anything, worse that his first speech on his return to the Senate should be answered by a South Carolina senator, with the remark that, "We are not inclined again to send forth the recipient of punishment, howling through the world, yelping fresh cries of slander and malice."

Southern writers will never fully understand the election of 1860, until they come to study in the light of the new training the debates which preceded it.

A power so situated in a constantly weakening minority in the nation, and yet supreme in its influence in its own States, was necessarily particularist in theory. Where it ruled, the forefathers had said State sovereignty and meant State rights, while their descendants said State rights and meant State sovereignty. And the development of the great cotton interest made State sovereignty even worse than it was by nature; instead of the jarring and comparatively innocuous demands of State sovereignty, it banded together a number of States by a common controlling interest, and evoked the deadly peril of sectional sovereignty. State rights could never have caused a blow; even State sovereignty would have died a harmless and natural death; but slavery and sectional State sovereignty each so acted and reacted upon the evil points of the other that the combined tumor was at last beyond reach of anything but the knife. But, during its existence, slavery never hesitated, upon occasion, to drop State sovereignty for the time and use the nation and the national idea as political

forces for its advancement; and yet it never did so, except in the case of the acquisition of Florida, without injuring itself. In its infancy it acquired the territory west of the Mississippi by a process which was only defensible on the ground that the powers of the Government were given by a nation, and not by sovereign States—and out of this territory grew its subsequent difficulties.

It flung the nation upon Mexico, and the disputes over the territory thus acquired first put the anti-slavery sentiment into political shape. It forced the passage of a fugitive slave act, fatally adverse to State sovereignty and State rights, in compensation for the admission of California as a State, an act whose operation made its moving power the object not only of dread, but of abhorrence, in the free States. Finally, by transferring theoretical State sovereignty into practical secession, it compelled such an extensive showing of national power that the effects will be felt for generations to come.

CHAPTER VII.

SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES AND NEW STATES.

"The day is breaking in the East of which the prophets told,
And brightens up the sky of Time, the Christian Age of Gold;
Old Might to Right is yielding, battle blade to clergy pen,
Earth's monarchs are the people's, and her serfs stand up as men;
The isles rejoice together—in a day are nations born—
And the slave walks free in Tunis, and by Stamboul's Golden Horn."

IT is certain that slavery in the original States was founded on custom only, and the same foundation, if any, must be found for slavery in Territories and new States. The modern States of Kentucky and Tennessee, for example, were never colonies or territories of their parent States; they were integral parts of Virginia and North Carolina, and the custom of slavery was established at Nashville or Harrodsburgh on just the same basis as at Beaufort or Richmond. When their separation from the parent States took place, the custom of slavery remained, and they entered the Union as slave States.

Granting that no opposition to slavery was felt by the nation at large, the same process might have been repeated anywhere, and custom, unopposed, might have made any Territory slave soil and brought it into the Union as a slave State. It is, therefore, impossible to admit fully the dogma so popular and useful in the anti-slavery conflict, that the national territory was free soil without any statutory enactment. It might be free and it might be slave, according to custom. In the cases of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi and Alabama the cessions of their territory were accepted by the United States from Virginia, North Corolina, South Carolina and Georgia under a pledge not to interfere with the existing custom of slavery.

The rights of all these States to the territory which they professed to cede, like the rights of New York, Connecticut and

Massachusetts to the Northwestern Territory, were exceedingly doubtful; nevertheless, the pledge was honorably fulfilled.

The slave-holding States always denied that any act of Congress could prohibit the custom of slavery in a Territory. But this is as impossible of acceptance as the free-soil dogma above stated.

The Territories were certainly not without law. Their inhabitants were not the law-making power, for then there would have been no distinction between Territories and States. On any other subject than slavery, no one, in court or Congress, denied that Congress was the law-maker for the Territories. But slavery was only a custom; and, while no one denies that a custom is valid until abrogated by statute, this has been the only case in which it has been seriously asserted that any custom is above and beyond abrogation by statute. So evident was this in 1787 that the ordinance of that year abolished slavery in the territory northwest of the Ohio, in whose case no restraining pledge had been given. The Articles of Confederation which were then in force gave Congress no power to so prohibit slavery, or, indeed, to hold or govern territory at all. The whole act was so obviously a consequence of the national power to hold and govern its own territory, and was so plain a parallel to the proposal to similarly prohibit slavery in the Mexican annexations, that Southern writers have endeavored to avoid it in two ways: First, they assert that the ordinances were merely an expression of the will of the several States, a new article of confederation, so to speak. This is impossible. The State vote on the Ordinance of 1787 was indeed unanimous, but this fact has no bearing on the matter, for the Ordinance of 1784, which covered much the same ground (except the prohibition of slavery), was not adopted by unanimous vote, South Carolina voting in the negative, and yet its validity was never impeached on that account. Further, the articles of confederation were to be amended by State legislation only: however we may admit the power of a national convention to override them, we can hardly acknowledge the power of Congress itself to amend them. Second, Judge Taney, in

the Dred Scott decision, holds that the Ordinance of 1787 "had become inoperative, and a nullity upon the adoption of the Constitution." If this was so, and if it was true, as the same decision holds, that the power of Congress to make "all needful rules and regulations" for the territory of the United States was intended to be confined to the territory then owned by the United States, and not to be extended to territory subsequently acquired, the fugitive slave law of 1850 was in a large degree unconstitutional. It was based on the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution: but this only allowed the reclamation of slaves from one *State* to another *State*.

During the territorial existence of the Northwest, the ground was covered by this proviso to the prohibition of slavery by the Ordinance of 1787: "Provided always that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid." If the power to make rules and regulations for the Territories only applied to the territory owned in 1789, and was intended to supply the place of the fugitive slave clause in the superseded Ordinance of 1787, it followed that the fugitive slave law of 1793 exhausted the constitutional powers of Congress to provide for the reclamation of fugitive slaves to a Territory.

All the trans-Mississippi territory was subsequently acquired; and, if the Dred Scott decision was correct, the fugitive slave law of 1850 was unconstitutional in providing for the reclamation of fugitive slaves from it. The consequence must have been that the trans-Mississippi Territories, whether slavery was allowed or prohibited in them, would have been a sort of Alsatia, a safe refuge for fugitive slaves, and slavery would have been at a greater disadvantage than under the Ordinance of 1787.

The custom of slavery was already in existence in Louisiana and Florida at the time of their annexation, but the responsibility for its enlargement is directly upon Congress. The act of March 26, 1804, provided that no slaves should be

introduced in the Territory, *except* "by a citizen of the United States removing into said Territory for actual settlement, and being at the time of such removal *bona-fide* owner of such slave or slaves"; and the act of March 30, 1822, while forbidding the importation of slaves from without the United States, by implication allowed the domestic slave trade. Both acts confirmed the laws then in force in the Territories, and not inconsistent with the acts; and, as the territorial laws recognized slavery, it continued in force, and Louisiana and Florida entered the Union as slave States. Upon the admission of Louisiana as a State, the continuance of the custom of slavery in the rest of the purchase was practically provided for by the sixteenth section of the act of June 4, 1812, continuing the territorial laws of Louisiana in the new Territory of Missouri.

Again, when the new Territory of Arkansas was created by the act of March 2, 1819, a similar provision continued in the new Territory the laws of Missouri, which recognized slavery. The consequence of this long *laches*, this omission of Congress to prohibit the custom of slavery, which had been recognized by French, Spanish, and territorial law, had now become apparent in the application of Missouri for admisson as a slave State, and the tardy attempt in Congress to attack the evil raised a political storm. On the one hand, since the new State had not the ability to compel a recognition of its existence, its recognition was clearly a matter of favor on which Congress could impose such conditions as it should consider needful. On the other, it was hardly just that Congress should permit the existence of even an evil custom, during its own responsibility for government, and only undertake to abolish it at the instant of giving the State professed self-government. The settlement of the case resulted in the abolition of slavery in the rest of the Louisiana Purchase, above 36° 30′ north latitude, and the admission of Missouri as a slave State.

As there was no abolition of the custom of slavery in Arkansas, we must consider the custom left still in existence there. On application of Arkansas for admission as a slave

State in 1836, there were some symptoms of a renewal of the Missouri struggle; but John Quincy Adams and other anti-slavery men agreed that the admission of Arkansas was fairly nominated in the Missouri bond, and the State was admitted. At the same session an increase in the area of Missouri made a considerable addition to the slave soil of the United States. Here the extension of slavery stopped, with the exception of the admission of Florida and Texas as slave States in 1845. The area of Texas had been free soil under the decree of Guerrero, the Mexican Dictator, in 1829, afterwards ratified by the Mexican Congress, and slavery is not recognized in the constitution of the Mexican State Coahuila, and Texas, or in the provisional Texas constitution of 1833 and 1835. But American settlers had brought their slaves with them, and fairly introduced the custom of slavery; and the constitution of 1836 formally declared all persons of color slaves for life, if they had been in that condition before their emigration to Texas, and were then held in bondage. This, though the State was not in the Union as yet, was the only instance of the professed establishment of slavery by the organic law of an American State, unless we are to take the Massachusetts code of 1641 as the first. The basis of the system is clearly expressed in a section of the Kentucky constitution of 1850 as follows: "The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction; and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave is the same and as invioable as the right of the owner of any property whatever." It was no more necessary, then, to declare a constitutional right of property in the case of slaves than in the case of horses; in both cases the legislature was to accept and defend the right without question. A slave State was regularly declared such at its admission, only by the provision forbidding the legislature to emancipate slaves without consent of owners, or to forbid the domestic slave trade.

As slavery reached the limits of its State extension in 1845, it only remains necessary to recur to its attacks upon the Territories. Here the customary basis of slavery makes manifest

the weakness of the claims for its extension after 1845. It is one thing to acknowledge the validity of a recognized and unopposed territorial custom in Louisiana, Missouri and Arkansas; it is a very different thing to admit, as two slavery advocates required, that the custom could not be abolished by statute, or prohibited where it did not exist. Nevertheless, in this respect the compromise of 1850 gave the slave States all they then asked. It refrained from prohibiting the custom, and gave the territorial legislature the general right of legislation, subject of course, to the veto powers of Congress. But this last was now a meaningless form; it was impossible to obtain the passage of an act by Congress, and the President, annulling a territorial law recognizing slavery. Congress practically gave loose reins to the territorial legislatures, and they took advantage of it. New Mexico (then including Arizona) passed an act in 1851, recognizing peonage for white slavery, and another in 1859, recognizing colored slavery; and Utah (then including Nevada) passed an act in 1852, maintaining the right of slave-holding emigrants to the services of their slaves. None of these acts were annulled until 1862.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, in 1854, went a step further. It took off the Missouri prohibition of 1820, and allowed the introduction of the custom into all the Territories. It is at least doubtful, leaving out the good faith of the repeal, whether a custom could properly be introduced in that way; but the climax of doubtfulness was reached when the Kansas struggle showed that the custom had no chance of practical introduction in that Territory. The pro-slavery claim was then advanced, that both Congress and the territorial legislature were bound to defend slavery in the Territories. If colored slavery was based on custom, and not on organic law, this claim was certainly a novelty in jurisprudence. We can easily understand the recognition or the prohibition of a custom by statute, but the establishment of a custom by statute is beyond conception. Yet this is the sum of the Southern demand where divested of verbiage and reduced to its real essence; and Secession was based upon the refusal of the demand.

CHAPTER VIII.

SLAVERY IN AMERICA—Continued.

"If I 'm designed yon lordling's slave,
By Nature's laws designed,
Why was an independent wish
E'er planted in my mind?
If not, why am I subject to
His cruelty or scorn?
Or why has man the will and power
To make his fellow mourn?"

IN the year 1619 slavery was first introduced into Virginia. In the month of August a Dutch man-of-war sailed up the river to the plantations and offered, by auction, twenty Africans. They were purchased by the wealthier class of planters and made slaves for life. It was, however, nearly half a century before the system of colored slavery became well established in the English Colonies.

There is no record of any serious opposition, whether on moral or economic grounds, to the introduction of slaves and establishment of slavery in the various British, Dutch and Swedish colonies planted along the coast between the Penobscot and the Savannah rivers during the succeeding century. At the outset it is certain that the importation of African chattels into the various seaports, by merchants trading thither, was regarded only with vague curiosity and marvel, like that which would now be excited by the experimental introduction of elephants as beasts of burden.

As we have said, the first abiding English colony—Virginia—was founded on the American coast in 1607. These early colonists of Virginia were merely adventurers of an unusually bad type—bankrupt prodigals, genteel spendthrifts, and incorrigible profligates—many of whom had left their native country for that country's good, in obedience to the urgent persuasion of sheriffs, judges and juries. All were in-

toxicated by the common illusions of emigrants with regard to the facilities for acquiring vast wealth at the cost of little or no labor in the Eden to which they were attracted. Probably no other colony that ever succeeded or endured was so largely made up of unfit and unpromising materials; and when the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the rock of Plymouth, Virginia had already received and distributed her first cargo of slaves.

As to the right to hold property in man, the first recorded case in 1677, in which the question appears to have come before the English courts, it was held that being usually bought and sold among merchants as merchandise, and, *also, being infidels*, there might be property in them sufficient to maintain trover.

What precisely the English law might be on the subject of slavery still remained a matter of doubt. Lord Holt had expressed the opinion, as quoted in a previous chapter, that slavery was a condition unknown to English law, and that every person setting foot in England thereby became free. American planters, on their visits to England, seem to have been annoyed by claims of freedom set up on this ground. To relieve their embarrassments, the merchants concerned in the American trade (in 1729) had obtained a written opinion from Yorke and Talbot, the attorney and solicitor-general of that day. According to this opinion, which passed for more than forty years as good law, not only was baptism no bar to slavery, but Negro slaves might be held in England, just as well as in the Colonies. The two lawyers by whom this opinion was given rose afterward, one of them to be Chief Justice of England, and both to be Chancellors. Yorke, sitting in the latter capacity, with the title of Lord Hardwicke, (in 1749) had recently recognized the doctrine of that opinion as sound law. He objects to Lord Holt's doctrine of freedom, secured by setting foot on English soil, that no reason could be found why slaves should not be equally free when they set foot in Jamaica or any other English plantation. All our Colonies are subject to the laws of England, although as to some purposes they have laws of their own. His argument is that, if slavery be contrary to English law, no local

enactments in the Colonies could give it any vitality. To avoid overturning slavery in the Colonies it was absolutely necessary to uphold it in England.

The amount of the fee paid by the wealthy and prosperous slave-traders for this remarkable display of legal erudition and acumen is not recorded, but it probably included a liberal consideration for wear-and-tear of conscience. Two or three decisions from British courts were at different times thereafter obtained, substantially echoing this opinion. However, in 1772 Lord Mansfield pronounced, in the ever-memorable Sommersett case, his judgment that, by the laws of England, no man could be held in slavery. The judgment has never since been disturbed, nor seriously questioned

One would suppose that the austere morality and democratic spirit of the Puritans would have kept their skirts clear of the stain of human bondage, and indeed 'tis strange that our forefathers, freed from the bondage and thraldom of England's oppressive king, should so soon enslave their fellow-men. It is but another illustration of the ingratitude of man. Beneath all their fierce antagonism, there was a certain kinship between the disciples of Calvin and those of Loyola. Each were ready to suffer and die for God's truth as they understood it, and neither cherished any appreciable sympathy or consideration for those they esteemed God's enemies, in which category the savages of America and the Negroes of Africa were so unlucky as to be found. The Puritan pioneers of New England were early involved in desperate struggles with their aboriginal neighbors, in whom they failed to discover the fascinating traits found in the novels of Cooper or the poems of Longfellow. The ferocity and treachery of the Indian, acting upon their theologic convictions, led them early and readily to the belief that these savages, and by local inference all savages, were the children of the devil, to be subjugated, if not extirpated, as the Philistine inhabitants of Canaan had been by the Israelites under Joshua. Indian slavery, sometimes forbidden by law, but usually tolerated if not entirely approved by public opinion, was among the early usages of New England, and from this to

colored slavery was an easy transition. However, in the Eastern Colonies the slaves were few, and confined in the most part to the seaports. The poor and rocky soil, harsh climate and rugged topography of the country presented formidable, though not impassable, barriers to slave-holding. The labor of the hands without the brain, of muscle divorced from intelligence, would barely succeed on these bleak hills. Slave-holding in the Northern States was regarded a badge of aristocracy, and coveted as a social distinction, rather than engaged in with any idea of profit or pecuniary advantage.

It was not so, however, in the Southern States. The invention of the cotton gin, and cultivation of rice and indigo on the seaboard, furnished employment to slaves far in excess of that of the white population, and slave-owners gradually but surely became rich. In South Carolina the Sea Islands afforded peculiar facilities for limiting the intercourse of the slaves with one another and their means of escape. South Carolina a century ago was intensely and conspicuously aristocratic. But when slavery had obtained everywhere a foothold, and, in most Colonies, a distinct legal recognition, encountering no serious resistance, it would be absurd to claim for any Colony a moral superiority over any other in this respect. In this connection we may refer to the Colony of Georgia as a notable and honorable exception to the general facility with which this great evil was adopted and acquiesced in by the other Colonies. For this she is largely indebted to her illustrious founder, James Oglethorpe, a native of England. He, while in England, had become acquainted with the frightful abuses and inhumanities which then characterized the British system of imprisonment for debt; he devoted himself to their reform, and carried through the House an act to this end. His interest in the fortunes of bankrupt and needy debtors led him to plan the establishment of a Colony to which they should be invited, and in which they might hope, by industry and prudence, to attain independence. This Colony was also intended to afford an asylum for the oppressed Protestants of Germany and other portions of the Continent. He interested many eminent and

influential personages in his project; obtained for it nearly ten thousand pounds sterling from Parliament, with subscriptions to the amount of sixteen thousand more.

The pioneer colonists left England in November of 1732, and landed in Charlestown the following year. Proceeding directly to their territory, they founded the city of Savannah in the course of the ensuing month. Oglethorpe, as director and vice-president of the African company, had previously become acquainted with an African prince, captured and sold into slavery by some neighboring chief, and had returned him to his native country, after imbibing, from his acquaintance with the facts, a profound detestation of the slave trade and of slavery.

One of the fundamental laws devised by Oglethorpe for the government of his Colony was a prohibition of slave-holding; another was an interdiction of the sale or use of rum; neither of them calculated to be popular with the jail-birds, idlers and profligates, who eagerly sought escape from their debts and their miseries by becoming members of the new Colony. The spectacle of men, no wiser nor better than themselves, living idly and luxuriously, just across the Savannah River, on the fruits of constrained and unpaid Negro labor, doubtless inflamed their discontent and their hostility.

War soon broke out between England and Spain, and he, at the head of the South Carolina and Georgia militia, made an attack on St. Augustine, a Spanish settlement of East Florida, which proved unsuccessful. Oglethorpe soon after returned to England; the trustees finally surrendered their charter to the Crown, and in 1752 Georgia became a Royal Colony, whereby its inhabitants were enabled to gratify their longing for slavery and rum.

The struggle of Oglethorpe in Georgia was aided by the presence, councils and active sympathy of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, whose pungent description of slavery as the "sum of all villainies" was based on personal observation and experience during his sojourn in these Colonies.

"But "another king arose, who knew not Joseph"—the

magisterial hostility to bondage was released, if not wholly withdrawn; the temptation remained and increased, while the resistance faded and disappeared, and soon Georgia yielded passively to the contagion of evil example, and thus became not only slave-holding, but, next to South Carolina, the most infatuated of all the thirteen Colonies in its devotion to the mighty evil.

Soon after this came the War of the Revolution and the promulgation of the great principle of human rights, as set forth in that memorable document, the Declaration of Independence, as follows: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." Such men as James Otis, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry laid broad foundations for their arguments, in premises affecting the natural and general rights of man to self-government, with the control of his own products or earnings.

Those who imagine that our patriots were all convinced of the danger and essential iniquity of slavery, and the conservative who argues that few or none perceived and admitted the direct application of their logic to the case of men held in perpetual and limitless bondage, are alike mistaken. Undoubtedly some did not perceive or did not admit the inseparable connection between the rights they claimed as British freemen and the rights of all men everywhere; but the more discerning and logical of the patriots comprehended and confessed that their assertion of the rightful inseparability of representation from taxation necessarily affirmed the grander and more

essential right of each innocent rational being to the control and use of his own capacities and faculties, and to the enjoyment of his own earnings.

We notice in the fifth of the Darien Georgia committee, June 12, 1775, proof of the above assertion, viz.: "To show to the world that we are not influenced by any contracted or interested motive, but a general philanthropy for all mankind, of whatever climate, language or complexion, we hereby declare our disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatural practice of slavery in America (however the uncultivated state of our country, and other specious arguments, may plead for it), a practice founded in injustice and cruelty, and highly dangerous to our liberties (as well as lives), debasing part of our fellow-creatures below men, and corrupting the virtue and morals of the rest, and as laying the basis of that liberty we contend for (and which we pray the Almighty to continue to the latest posterity) upon a very wrong foundation. We, therefore, resolve, at all times, to use our utmost efforts for the manumission of our slaves in this Colony, upon the most safe and equitable footing for the masters and themselves."

When Jefferson, in drafting our immortal Declaration of Independence, embodied in its preamble a formal and emphatic assertion of the inalienable rights of man, he set forth propositions novel and startling to Europeans, but which eloquence and patriotic fervor had already engraven deeply on the American heart; and in penning that Declaration, he charged the British Government with upholding and promoting the African slave trade against the protests of the colonists, and in violation of the dictates of humanity.

The following is Mr. Jefferson's indictment of George III., as a patron and upholder of the African slave trade, embodied in his original draft of the Declaration:

"Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce, and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to

rise in arms among us, and purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

But the jealous devotion of South Carolina and Georgia to slave-holding rendered it impolitic to send forth as an integral portion of our arraignment of British tyranny, but which were, nevertheless, widely and deeply felt to be an important and integral portion of our cause. Mr. Jefferson, in his autobiography, gives the following reason for the omission of this remarkable passage from the Declaration as adopted, issued and published: "The clause, to 'reprobating' and enslaving the inhabitants of Africa, was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it. Our Northern brethren, also, I believe, felt a little tender under those censures; for, though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others." However, the Declaration stands to-day as evidence that our fathers regarded the rule of Great Britian as no more destructive to their own rights than to the rights of mankind.

This Declaration of Human Rights was no novelty to those who hailed and responded to it. Three weeks before, the Virginia Convention had unanimously adopted a Declaration of Rights, reported on the 27th of May, by George Mason, which proclaims that by nature all men are equally free and have inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot by any compact deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety. The progress of the Revolution justified and deepened these convictions. Slavery soon proved to be our chief source of weakness and of peril. Of our three millions of people, half a million were the chattels of others, and though all the Colonies tolerated, and most of them

expressly legalized slave-holding, the slaves, nearly concentrated in the Southern States, paralyzed the energies and enfeebled the efforts of their patriots. Incited by proclamations of Royal Governors and military commanders, thousands of the Negroes escaped to British camps and garrisons, and were there manumitted and protected, while the master race, alarmed for the safety of their families, were unable or unwilling to enlist in the Continental Army, or even to be called into service as militia. The following table will tend to show that, in proportion as slavery existed, so the love for liberty and patriotism decreased:

The number of troops employed by the Colonies during the entire Revoutionary War, as well as the number furnished by each, is shown in the following, which is compiled from statistics contained in a work published by Jacob Moore, Concord, entitled "Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society for the Year 1824."

	Continental.	Militia.
New Hampshire	12,496	2,093
Massachusetts	68,007	15,155
Rhode Island	5,878	4,284
Connecticut	32,039	7,792
New York	18,331	3,304
New Jersey	10,726	6,055
Pennsylvania	25,608	7,357
Delaware	2,317	376
Maryland	13,912	4,127
Virginia	26,668	5,620
South Carolina	6,413	
North Carolina	7,263	
Georgia	2,679	
Total	232,337	56,163

The number of slaves in the States respectively, at the time of the Revolution, may be closely approximated by the aid of

the census of 1790, wherein the slave population is returned as follows:

North.		South.	
New Hampshire	158	Delaware	8,887
Vermont	17	Maryland	103,036
Rhode Island	952	Virginia	293,427
Connecticut	2,759	North Carolina	100,572
Massachusetts		South Carolina	107,094
New York	21,324	Georgia	29,264
New Jersey	11,423	Kentucky	11,830
Pennsylvania	3,737	Tennessee	3,417
Total	40,370	Total	657,527

Massachusetts adopted a new State constitution in 1780, to which a bill of rights was prefixed, which her Supreme Court soon after decided was inconsistent with the maintenance of slavery, which had thus been abolished.

Pennsylvania had passed an act of gradual emancipation in 1780.

Thus may it be seen that the New England States, with a population less numerous than that of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, furnished more than double the number of soldiers to battle for the common cause. The South was repeatedly overrun, and regarded as substantially subdued, by armies that would not have ventured to invade New England, and could not have maintained themselves a month on her soil. Indeed, after Gage's expulsion from Boston and Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, New England, save the islands on her coast, was pretty carefully avoided by the Royalist generals, and only assailed by raids which were finished, almost as soon as begun. These facts, vividly impressed on the general mind by the necessities and sacrifices of the times, in connection with the discovery and elucidation, already noticed, of elemental principles, had pretty thoroughly cured the North of all attachment to or disposition to justify slavery before the close of the Revolutionary War.

The African slave trade, as we have already noted, was closed, peremptorily, on the first day of January, 1808. This was the period from which, according to the fond anticipations of optimists and quietists, slavery in our country should have commenced its decadence, and thence gone steadily and surely forward to its ultimate and early extinction. And these sanguine hopes were measurably justified by the teachings of history.

In all former ages, in all other countries, slavery, so long as it existed and flourished, was kept alive by a constant or frequent enslavement of captives or by importation of bondmen. Whenever that enslavement, that importation, ceased, slavery began to decline. The gratitude of masters to faithful, devoted servants, who had nursed them in illness, or adhered to them in times of peril or calamity, or who had simply given the best years of their lives to the enlargement of their wealth, had been effectual in reducing by manumission the aggregate number of slaves much faster than it was increased by the preponderance of births over deaths. The chances of war, of invasion, and still more of insurrection and civil convulsion, had operated from time to time still further to reduce the number of slaves. Even the licentious and immoral connections between masters and their bondwomen, so inseparable from the existence of slavery, tended strongly toward a like result; since it was seldom or never reputable, save in slave-holding America—if even there—for a master to send his own children to the auction-block, and to consign them to eternal bondage among strangers.

Quite often the slave mother, as well as her child or children, owed her emancipation to the affection, the remorse, or the shame of her master and paramour. So long as slaves were mainly foreigners and barbarians, often public enemies, of fierce, strange aspect, and unintelligible speech, there would naturally be little sympathy betwixt them and their masters; but when children who had grown up together—sprung, indeed, from different castes, but still members of the same household—familiar from infancy, and to some extent playmates, came to hold the relation respectively of master and slave, it was

inevitable that kindly feelings should frequently be reciprocated between them, leading often to devotion on one hand, and emancipation on the other. It was not without reason, therefore, that the founders of our Republic and the framers of our Constitution supposed they had provided for the gradual but certain disappearance of slavery, by limiting its area on the one hand, and providing for an early inhibition of the slave trade on the other.

But the unexpected results of the purchase of Louisiana and the invention of the cotton gin were such as to set at naught all these calculations. The former opened to slave-holding settlement and culture a vast domain of the richest soil on earth, in a region peculiarly adapted to the now rapidly and profitably expanding production of cotton; for Whitney's invention had rendered this staple far more remunerative to its producer than any cereal which the South had ever yet attempted to grow; while the nearly simultaneous inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright and others,* whereby steam was applied to the propulsion of machinery admirably adapted to the fabrication of cotton, secured the cultivators against all reasonable apprehension of a permanently glutted market. As the production was doubled, and even quadrupled, every few years, it would sometimes seem that the demand had been exceeded; and two or three great commercial convulsions gave warning that even the capacity of the world's steadily expanding markets could be overestimated and surpassed by the producers of cotton and its various fabrics. But two years, at most, sufficed to clear off the surplus and enlarge this steadily growing demand up to the full measure of the momentarily checked production. The five millions of bales produced by the United States in 1859-60 were sold as readily and quickly as the one million bales produced in 1830-31, and at considerably higher prices per pound.

*James Hargreaves had invented the spinning jenny in 1764; this was supplanted by the invention by Sir Richard Arkright, in 1768, for a superior machine for spinning cotton thread. James Watt patented his steam engine in 1769, and his improvement, whereby a rotary motion was produced, in 1782; and its first application to cotton spinning occurred in 1787, but it was many years in winning its way into general use. John Fitch's first success in steam navigation was achieved in 1786. Fulton's patents were granted in 1809-11, and claimed the simple means of adapting paddle-wheels to the axle of the crank of Watt's engine.

But the relatively frigid climate and superficially exhausted soil of Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, wherein the greater number of slaves were originally held, were poorly, or not at all, adapted to the production of cotton, whereof slave labor early claimed and succeeded in substantially maintaining a monopoly. No other outdoor work afforded such constant and nearly uniform employment for this description of labor. Throughout the greater part of the Southwest, plowing for the cotton crop may be commenced in January, to be followed directly by planting, this by weeding, and hardly has the cultivation of the crop been completed when the picking of the more advanced bolls may be commenced; and this, with ginning, often employs the whole force of the plantation nearly or quite up to the commencement of the Christmas holidays. These being over, the preparation of the fields for plowing is again commenced, so that there is no season when the hands need stand idle; and though long spring and summer rains, impeding tillage while impelling the growth of weeds and of grass, somtimes induce weeks of necessary hurry and unusual effort, there is absolutely no day of the year wherein the experienced planter or competent overseer cannot find full employment for his hands in some detail of the cultivation of cotton.

The forest-covered and unhealthy but facile and marvelously fertile Southwest hungered for slaves, as we have seen evinced in the case of Indiana Territory, and impoverished but salubrious and corn-growing Maryland and Virginia, etc., were ready to supply them. Enterprising, adventurous whites, avaricious men from the North and from Europe, but still more from the older slave States, hied to the Southwest in hot pursuit of wealth, by means of cotton-planting and subsidiary callings; and each became a purchaser of slaves to the full extent of his means. To clear more land and grow more cotton, wherewith to buy more slaves, was the general and absorbing aspiration; the more Africans to be employed in clearing still more land and growing still more cotton. Under this dispensation, the price of slaves necessarily and rapidly advanced,

until it was roughly computed that each field-hand was worth so many hundred dollars as cotton commanded cents per pound; that is, when cotton was worth ten cents per pound, field-hands were worth a thousand dollars each; with cotton at twelve cents, slaves were worth twelve hundred dollars; and when it rose, as it sometimes did, even in later days, to fifteen cents per pound for a fair article of middling Orleans, a stout slave, from seventeen to thirty years old, with no particular skill but that necessarily acquired in the rude experience of farm labor anywhere, would often bring fifteen hundred dollars on the New Orleans auction-block. Hence the business of Negro-trading, or the systematic buying of slaves to sell again, though never quite reputable, and, down to the last thirty or forty years, very generally regarded with abhorrence, became a highly important and influential, as well as gainful occupation. The Negro trader, often picking up bargains at executors' or assignees' sales in the older States, or when a sudden shift must be made to save a merchant from bankruptcy, or a farm from the sheriff, controlled large sums of money, often in good part his own. He was the Providence to whom indolent, dissipated, easy-going Virginians looked for extrication, at the last gasp, from their constantly recurring pucuniary embarrassments; while, on the other hand, a majority of the South-western planters were eager to buy of him at large prices, provided he would sell to them on one or two years' credit. He patronized hotels and railroads; he often chartered vessels for the transportation of his human merchandise; he was necessarily shrewd, keen and intelligent, and frequently acquired, or at least wielded, so much wealth and influence as to become almost respectable.

Quite usually he was an active politician, almost uniformly of the most ultra pro-slavery type, and naturally attached to the Democratic party.

Traveling extensively and almost constantly, his information and volubility rendered him mail and telegraph, newspaper and stump orator, to those comparatively ignorant and secluded planters whom he visited twice or more per year, as

buyer or seller, or collector of his dues for slaves already sold. While his power as profitable customer on the one hand, or lenient creditor on the other, was by no means inconsiderable, it was this power, in connection with that of the strongly sympathizing and closely affiliating class of gamblers and blacklegs, by which Van Buren's re-nomination for the Presidency was defeated in the Baltimore Convention of 1844, and the Democratic party committed, through the nomination of Polk and its accessories, to the policy of annexing Texas, which secured a fresh and boundless expansion to slavery. When that annexation was suddenly and, too, most unexpectedly, achieved at the close of John Tyler's administration, relays of horses, pre-arranged in the absence of telegraphs, conveyed from the deeply interested slave-traders, who were watching the doings of Congress at the national metropolis, to their confederates and agents in the slave-selling districts in the neighboring States, the joyful tidings which insured an advance of from twelve to fifteen per cent in the market value of human flesh, and enabled the exclusive possessors of the intelligence to make it the basis of extensive and lucrative speculations.

Slave-breeding for gain, deliberately purposed and systematically pursued, appears to be among the latest devices and illustrations of human depravity. Neither Cowper, nor Wesley, nor Jonathan Edwards, nor Granville Sharp, nor Clarkson, nor any of the philanthropists or divines who, in the last century, bore fearless and emphatic testimony to the flagrant iniquity of slave-making, slave-holding and slave-selling, seem to have had any clear conception of it. For the infant slave of past ages was rather an incumbrance and a burden than a valuable addition to his master's stock. To raise him, however roughly, must cost all he would ultimately be worth. That it was cheaper to buy slaves than to rear them was quite generally regarded as self-evident. But the suppression of the African slave trade, coinciding with the rapid settlement of the Louisiana purchase and the triumph of the cotton gin, wrought here an entire transformation. When field-hands brought from ten to fifteen hundred dollars, and young slaves were held at

from ten to fifteen dollars per pound, the newly born infant, if well formed, healthy and likely to live, was deemed an addition to his master's stock of not less than one hundred dollars, even in Virginia and Maryland. It had now become the interest of the master to increase the number of births in his slave cabins, and few evinced scruples as to the means whereby this result was obtained.

The chastity of female slaves was never esteemed of much account, even where they were white, and, now that it had become an impediment to their masters' wealth, it was wholly disregarded. No slave girl, however young, was valued lower for having become a mother without waiting to be first made a wife; nor were many masters likely to rebuke this as a fault, or brand it as a shame. Women were publicly advertised by sellers as extraordinary breeders, and commanded a higher price on that account. Wives sold into separation from their husbands were imperatively required to accept new partners in order that the fruitfulness of the plantation might not suffer. We need not dwell on this new phase of slavery, its revolting features, and still more revolting consequences. The simple and notorious fact that clergymen, marrying slaves, were accustomed to require of them fidelity to their marital relation until separated by death or by *inexorable necessity*, suffices of itself to stamp the social condition thus photographed with the indignant reprobation of mankind; and when we add that slave girls were not only daily sold on the auction-blocks of New Orleans, and constantly advertised in her journals as very nearly white, well educated, possessed of the rarest personal attractions, and that they commanded double and triple prices on that account, we leave nothing to be added to complete the outlines of a system of legalized and priest-sanctioned iniquity, more gigantic and infernal than heathenism and barbarism ever devised. For the Circassian beauty, whose charms seek and find a market at Constantinople, is sent thither by her parents, and is herself a willing party to the speculation. She hopefully bids a last adieu to the home of her infancy, to find another in the harem of some wealthy and powerful Turk,

where she will achieve the life of luxury and idleness she covets. But the American-born woman, consigned by the laws of her country, and the fiat of her owner, to the absolute possession of whomsoever bids most for her, neither consents to the transfer nor is at all consulted as to the person to whom she is helplessly consigned. The Circassian knows that her children will be free and honored. The American is keenly aware that hers must share her own bitter and hopeless degradation. It was long ago observed that American slavery, with its habitual and life-long separation of husband from wife, of parent from child, its exile of perhaps the larger portions of its victims, from the humble but cherished homes of their childhood to the strange and repulsive swamps and forests of the far Southwest, is harsher and viler than any other system of bondage on which the sun ever shone. And when we add that it has been carefully computed that the State of Virginia, since the date of the purchase of Louisiana, had received more money for her own flesh and blood, regularly sold and exported, than her soil and all that was upon it would have sold for on the day when she seceded from the Union, we need adduce no more of the million facts which unite to prove every wrong a blunder as well as a crime—that God has implanted in every evil the seeds of its overthrow and ultimate destruction.

The majority of the framers of the Constitution, like nearly all of their compatriots of our Revolutinary era, were adverse to slavery. Their judgments condemned and their consciences reprobated it. They would evidently have preferred to pass over the subject in silence, and frame a constitution wherein the existence of human bondage was impliedly or constructively recognized. Hence it may be noted, that those provisions favoring or upholding slavery, which deform our great Charter, are not original or integral parts of the fabric, and, as such, contained in the original draft thereof: but are unsightly and abnormal additions, rather fastened upon than interwoven with the body of the structure. Could the majority have made such a constitution as they would have preferred, slavery would have found no lodgment in it; but already the whip of disunion was

brandished, and the fatal necessity of compromise manifest. The Convention would have at once and forever prohibited, so far as our country and her people are concerned, the African slave trade: but South Carolina and Georgia were present, by their delegates, to admonish, and, if admonition did not answer, to menace, that this must not be. "No slave trade, no Union!"

Such was the short and sharp alternative presented by the delegates from those States. North Carolina was passive; Virginia and her more northern sisters more than willing to prohibit at once the further importation of slaves; in fact, several, if not all, of these States, including Virginia and Maryland, had already expressly forbidden it. But the ultimatum presented by the still slave-hungry States of the extreme South was imperative, and the necessity of submitting to it was quite too easily conceded. Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, was among the first to admit it. The conscience of the North was quieted by embodying in the Constitution a proviso that Congress might interdict the foreign slave trade after the expiration of twenty years, a term which, it was generally agreed, ought fully to satisfy the craving of Carolina and Georgia. The modified proposition to prohibit the slave trade now encountering no opposition, the recognition of slaves, as a basis of political power, presented a grave and intricate problem. It was one calculated, at least, to place the antagonistic parties respectively in false positions. If slaves are human beings, why should they not be represented like other human beings—that is, like women and children, and other persons, ignorant, humble and powerless like themselves? If, on the other hand, you consider them property—mere chattels personal—why should they be represented any more than other personal property? We can only answer that slavery and reason travel different roads; and that he strives in vain who labors to make these roads even seem parallel.

The Convention, without much debate or demur, split the difference, by deciding that the basis alike of representation in Congress and of direct taxation should be the entire free pop-

ulation of each State, with three-fifths of all other persons. *The Federalist*, p. 46, says: "We subscribe to the doctrine, *might one of our Southern brethren observe*, that representation relates more immediately to persons and taxation more immediately to property; and we join in the application of this distinction to the case of our slaves. But we deny the fact that slaves are considered merely as property, and in no respect whatever as persons. The true state of the case is, that they partake of both these qualities, being considered by our laws in some respects as persons and in other respects as property. In being compelled to labor, not merely for himself, but for a master—in being vendible by one master to another master, and being subject, at all times, to being restrained in his liberty, and chastised in his body, by the capricious will of his owner, the slave may appear to be degraded from the human rank, and classed with that of the irrational animals, which fall under the legal denomination of property. In being protected, on the other hand, in his life and in his limbs, against the violence of all others, even the master of his labor and his liberty, and in being punished himself for all violence committed against others, the slave is no less regarded by the law as a member of society, not as a part of the irrational creation, as a moral person, not a mere object of property.

"The Federal Constitution, therefore, decides *with great propriety*, on the case of our slaves, when it views them in the mixed character of persons and property. This is, in fact, their true character. It is the character bestowed on them by the laws under which they live; and it will not be disputed that these are the proper criterion, because it is only under the pretext that the laws have transformed Africans into subjects of property, that a place is denied to them in the computation of numbers; and it is admitted that if the laws were to restore the rights which have been taken away, they would no longer be refused an equal share of representation with the other inhabitants."

The Constitution of the United States not only contains no

guarantees in favor of slavery, but, on the contrary, was in its letter and spirit an anti-slavery instrument, demanding the abolition of slavery as a condition of its own existence as the supreme law of the land.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

"Forever ours! for good or ill, on us the burden lies;
God's balance, watched by Angels, is hung across the skies.
Shall Justice, Truth and Freedom turn the poised and trembling scale,
Or shall the Evil triumph, and robber, wrong prevail?
Shall the broad land, o'er which our flag in starry splendor waves,
Forego through us its freedom, and bear the tread of slaves!"

THE question of slavery was at first of only incidental interest in the political history of the country. The Convention of 1787, whose work and plans were mainly confined to the fringe of States along the Atlantic coast,had really formed two nations—a slave-holding nation and one which only tolerated slavery—into one; but the union was physical, rather than chemical, and the two sections retained distinct interests, feelings and peculiarities. As both spread beyond the Alleghanies to the West, the broad river Ohio lay in waiting to be the national boundary between the States in which slavery should be legal and those in which it should be illegal. When the tide of emigration began to pour across the Mississippi and fill the Louisiana Purchase, the dividing line was lost and conflict became inevitable.

The Territory of Missouri, formerly the district of Louisiana, was organized by various acts of Congress, 1812-19. Slavery had been legal by French and Spanish law before the annexation, had been continued by the laws of the Territories of Louisiana and Missouri, and had not been prohibited by any of the organizing acts of Congress. The Territory was, therefore, in the straight road to become a slave State, as Louisiana had already become.

March 16, 1818, a petition from Missouri for permission to form a State constitution was offered in the House, and April 3 a committee reported an enabling act, which slept until the following session. February 13, 1819, the House went into

committee of the whole on the enabling act, when Talmadge, of New York, offered the amendment to it, *and provided, also,* "That the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall be duly convicted; and that all children of slaves born within the said State, after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free, but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years." The Talmadge proviso was added to the bill by an almost exactly sectional vote, the Northern members voting for it, and the Southern members against it. The bill then passed the House. In the Senate it was amended by striking out the proviso, but the House refused to concur in the amendment, and in the resulting disagreement the bill was lost. At the close of this Congress, March 3, 1819, Missouri was still a Territory.

The Talmadge proviso, in the eyes of most of the Northern politicians who supported it, was merely an attempt to maintain the balance of power between the two sections. Kentucky had been offset by Vermont, Tennessee by Ohio, Louisiana by Indiana, and Mississippi by Illinois. The Territory of Alabama had applied for authorization to form a State government, which, indeed, was granted at this session; and the Talmadge proviso was a demand that Missouri, as a free State, should now offset Alabama. Accordingly, therefore, at the meeting of the next Congress, the legislatures of Delaware and all the Northern States (except those of New England, whose unpopularity as Federalists would have made their open support of doubtful value, and Illinois, whose early settlers were largely Southern) had warmly approved the Talmadge proviso, and stamped it as emphatically a Northern measure. In most of the legislatures the vote was unanimous, former party lines being entirely dropped. But complicated with this sectional question there were very many other fundamental questions, so that a full discussion of the Missouri case would almost involve a treatise on American constitutional law.

1st. Even granting that Congress had the power to govern the *Territory* of Missouri absolutely, what power was there in

Congress to forever prohibit the future State of Missouri from permitting slavery within its own limits, if by its own laws it should see fit to do so? While other States enjoyed the privilege of permitting or abolishing slavery at their discretion, was Missouri, while nominally entering the Union on equal terms with other States, to be debarred the right of choice? On the other hand, if Congress had the power to legislate for the Territory, what power could prevent Congress from controlling and laying conditions upon the organization of the Territory into a State? What right had Missouri to object to the absolute prohibition of slavery to which Ohio, Indiana and Illinois had submitted without a thought of complaint or objection?

2d. The treaty by which Louisiana, including Missouri, had been acquired stipulated that the ceded territory should be at once incorporated into the Union, and that its inhabitants should be given all the rights of citizens of the United States as soon as possible. From this clause it was argued that any attempt to impose any such limitation upon the admission of Missouri was a breach of good faith and of treaty obligations. To this it was answered that the contracting powers to the treaty must have been aware that the treaty power could not in any way control the admission of new States, which must be by concurrent action of both branches of Congress and the President.

3d. A broader ground was taken by some Southern members. They held that the compromise which gave the slave States representation for three-fifths of the slave population had recognized slavery as a fundamental feature of their society; that the control of slavery was therefore one of the powers reserved to the States; and that Congress could not constitutionally assume that power in the case of either a new or an old State. On the other hand, if this was really a compromise by which certain States were to be brought into the Union, why should Missouri now claim as a right that which had been originally granted only to a different and distinctly marked Territory? Was it not enough that the Southern

States which were included in the bargain had received their stipulated fictitious representation for slave population, but must the same advantage be given to an indefinite number of new States in the future?

4th. The above compromise very briefly outlines the main arguments for and against the admission of Missouri as a slave State. A deeper feeling was at work among the people of the North and is apparent in the speeches of some of the Northern members, though not often referred to openly. Slavery as an institution seemed moribund everywhere in 1789, and could be safely left, it was imagined, to the process of gradual abolition in the several States. In the following thirty years it had really died in all the Northern States, though it was yet not buried in some of them: in the South it had grown stronger instead of weaker. Its hands had reached across the Mississippi into territory to which it had no title by the organic law on any interpretation. It had seized Louisiana, had organized Arkansas as a slave Territory, and was now grasping after a new State, with the prospect of obtaining others in the near future, since the newly organized Territory of Arkansas comprised the rest of the Louisiana Purchase. Here was the place to make the final stand, to demonstrate that, even though a slave-holding population might settle a Territory, its admission as a State was in the control of Congress, and it must enter as a free State or not at all. Only one answer to this was attempted. Clay appealed to the Northern members, as friends of the Negroes, to allow them also the benefits of migration to the fat and fertile West, and not to coop them up in the starved lands of the older States; it seems not to have occurred to him that these Territories, if left free, were the nearest and best located for the colonization society.

A new Congress met December 6, 1819. Alabama was at once admitted as a State, December 14, and the number of free and slave States was thus equalized. Missouri, through her territorial legislature, again demanded to be admitted as a State. Maine, whose Democratic majority wished to separate from Federal Massachusetts, had already formed a State con-

stitution, and now applied for admission also. The Maine bill passed the House January 3, 1820. In the Senate, after a month's debate, January 16. February 16 the Maine bill was also passed, but with a "rider" consisting of the Missouri bill, without restriction of slavery. This attempt to compel the House to accept the Missouri slave State bill, or lose both, was passed by a vote of twenty-three (including three from the North) to twenty-one. February 17 Thomas, of Illinois (pro-Southern), offered as an amendment to the bill the compromise afterwards adopted, which had been suggested in February, 1819, by McLean, of Delaware, and which consisted in effect of a division of the Louisiana Purchase between the free States and the slave States; and the Senate adopted the Thomas amendment by a vote of thirty-four to ten. Although the affirmative vote in this instance contained the votes of most of the Northern Senators, this was not the first symptom of weakening in the Northern vote; the organization of Arkansas as a slave Territory had already shown that the slavery restrictionists had not learned the rule of *obsta principiis*, without which they could make no successful constitutional fight. The Southern vote was better disciplined and never wavered.

The Senate passed the bill with the Thomas amendment by a vote of twenty-four to twenty.

February 18 the House disagreed to the Senate bill as amended, the Thomas amendment having only 18 votes to 159. Both houses by strong votes adhered to their position, and the Senate asked and was granted a conference committee, which reported: 1st, that the Senate should give up its union of the Maine and Missouri bills; 2d, that the House should give up the Talmadge proviso; and 3d, that both houses should unite in admitting Missouri, with the Thomas amendment as follows: "*And be it further enacted*, That in all that territory ceded by France to the United States under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of 36° 30′ north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of the State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude otherwise than in the punishment of crime,

whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited." A proviso for securing the return of fugitive slaves from the territory in general was added. The whole compromise was then passed by the House, the second part of it by a vote of 90 (76 from the South, 14 from the North) to 87, and the third part by 134 to 42, 35 of the nays being ultra Southern members who refused to approve any interference by Congress with slavery in the Territories. The approval of the President was still necessary to make the bills law, and Monroe demanded the opinions of his Cabinet on the question: 1st, whether the prohibition of slavery was constitutional; and 2d, whether the word *forever* was a territorial "*forever*," or applicable also to States formed from the Territory in future. The Cabinet was unanimously in the affirmative on the first question, but divided on the second; but by an adroit suggestion of Calhoun the two questions were joined in one—was the Thomas amendment constitutional? To this every member promptly responded in the affirmative, and the bill was signed March 6, 1820.

The Missouri Compromise of 1820, of which Thomas, of Illinois, was the father, and Henry Clay, of Kentucky, the active, zealous and successful sponsor, was thus completed in all its parts. At first sight it seems unfair, if any arrangement with which both parties to a controversy are content can be called unfair. In a territory acquired by national action, without the consent of its inhabitants, and therefore under national control, it is impossible to make out a case for the establishment of slavery, any more than a territorial church, without the express action of Congress; but the South, by persistently claiming this right as to the whole of the Louisiana Purchase, had successfully established it as to a large, and the only present useful, part of it. There is, however, another view of the matter, to which attention must be directed. For nearly twenty years Congress had utterly neglected to assert or enforce its power over slavery in the Territories. It had shut its eyes to the existence of slavery in the Louisiana Purchase; it had admitted Louisiana as a slave State; it had allowed the terri-

torial legislators to legislate in favor of slavery; so late as 1819 it had organized the Territory of Arkansas without restriction of slavery; and those who had brought slavery into the Territories might, with considerable show of fairness, claim that Congress had now no right to suddenly assert a power over their property in the case of Missouri, which it had not claimed in that of Louisiana. The claim is so far well founded that it is difficult to deny the parallelism between Louisiana and Missouri. The North, therefore, in order to secure the rest of the Louisiana Purchase in its normal condition of freedom, was compelled to pay for its twenty years' *laches* by surrendering the modern States of Missouri and Arkansas to the slave-holding settlers, whom it had allowed to enter and possess them. It can not, however, be too strongly insisted, that what Randolph called the "dirty bargain" had two sides; that the South had formally abandoned all future claim to establish slavery in Territories north of 36° 30′; that the North had tacitly pledged itself not to exert the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the Louisiana Purchase south of that line; and that both sides had recognized the absolute power of Congress over slavery in the Territories, without which the compromise would never have been made.

In 1836, when admitting Arkansas as a State, the North was strongly tempted to break its agreement, but refused to do so, even John Quincy Adams insisting that the admission of Arkansas as a slave State was "so nominated in the bond," and must be punctually fufilled. In 1852 the Southern leaders broke the agreement which their section had made.

Attention should also be called to the evil effects of the Missouri Compromise: *First,* it recognized by law that which every effort should have been made to blot out, the existence of a geographical line which divided the whole people into two sections, and it thus went far to establish parties on this geographical line. Jefferson's eye was quick to recognize this fact. In his letter of April 20, 1822, to John Holmes, he says:

"This momentous question—like a fire-bell in the night—

awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment, but this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated, and every new irritation will work it deeper and deeper."

From this time parties were to be really national only so long as the question of slavery was kept under cover; but when that question came to the surface, the whole controlling intelligence of the South spoke in the language of Dixon of Kentucky, in 1854: "Sir: Upon the question of slavery I know no Whiggery—and I know no Democracy—I am a pro-slavery man."

Second, in this compromise, however faithfully kept by both sides, lay the elements of future conflict. A comparison of the Western territory of the United States with the country's steady rate of increase in population should have shown the statesmen of 1820 that the Southwestern boundary was so abrupt a barrier to the movement of migration that it could not endure. When it should be broken down, and when new territory, not covered by the Missouri Compromise, should be added to the United States, it was not to be expected that the South should then submit to a restriction upon slavery which it had successfully resisted in 1820. Bonds which cannot restrain a child will not be very effective when he has grown to be a strong man; and this principle of a division of territory, once admitted, it was plain that future acquisitions of territory would be for the benefit, not of the whole nation, but of a partnership of two, whose Southern members would be certain to claim a full share.

The above is usually considered the Missouri Compromise, though there are some few difficulties yet to be settled.

First. In the Presidential election of 1820, Missouri, though not yet admitted as a State, chose Presidential electors, and many of the Southern members sought to have their votes

counted. This difficulty was avoided by counting the votes in the alternative.

Second. The constitution of Missouri was found to discriminate against free colored persons, who were citizens in many of the States. The joint resolution of March 2, 1821, therefore, admitted the State on condition of the abrogation of this discrimination.

CHAPTER X.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL.

"Is this, O countrymen of mine! a day for us to sow
The soil of new-gained empire with slavery's seeds of woe?
To feed with our fresh life-blood the old world's cast-off crime,
Dropped, like some monstrosity, from the tired lap of time?
To run anew the evil race the old lost nations ran,
And die like them of unbelief of God, and wrong of man?

THE Kansas-Nebraska bill is, in United States history, an Act of Congress by which the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska were organized in 1854. Its political importance consisted wholly of its repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

Before the introduction of the bill, it did not seem possible for any further question to arise as to slavery in the United States. In the several States, slavery was regulated by State law; in the Louisiana Purchase both sections had, in 1820, united to abolish slavery in the portion north of 36° 36′, ignoring the portion south of it; all the southern portion, outside the Indian Territory, was covered soon afterward by the slave State of Arkansas; and in the territory afterward acquired from Mexico both sections had united in 1850 in an agreement to ignore the existence of slavery, until it could be regulated by the laws of the States which should be formed therefrom in future. Every inch of the United States seemed to be covered by some compromise or other.

The slavery question was in this condition of equilibrium when a bill was passed by the House, February 10, 1853, to organize the Territory of Nebraska, covering, also, the modern State of Kansas. It lay wholly within that portion of the Louisiana Purchase whose freedom had been guaranteed by the Missouri Compromise, and the bill, therefore, said nothing about slavery, its supporters taking it for granted that the territory was already full. In the Senate it was laid on the table, March 3, the affirmative including every Southern sen-

ator except those from Missouri; but their opposition to the bill came entirely from an undefined repugnance to the practical operations of the Missouri Compromise—not from any idea that the Compromise was no longer in force. If it had been repealed by the compromise of 1850, those most interested in the repeal do not seem to have yet discovered it in 1853.

During the summer of 1853, following the adjournment of Congress, the discussion of the new phase which the proposed organization of Nebraska at once brought about in the slavery question became general among Southern politicians. The Southern people do not seem to have taken any great interest in the matter, for it was very improbable that slave labor could be profitably employed in Nebraska, even if it were allowed. The question was wholly political. The territory in question had been worthless ever since it was bargained away to secure the admission of Missouri as a Southern and slave-holding State; but now emigration was beginning to mark out the boundaries of present Territories and potential States, which would, in the near future, make the South a minority in the Senate, as it had always been in the House, and, perhaps, place it at the mercy of the united North. To prevent this result was of importance to Southern politicians: 1st, that, if the Missouri Compromise was to endure, Nebraska should remain unorganized, in order to check immigration and prevent the rapid formation of another Northern State; 2d, that, if the Missouri Compromise could be avoided, Nebraska should at least be open to slavery, for the same purpose as above, since it was agreed on all hands that free immigration instinctively avoided any contact with slave labor; and, 3d, that, if slave labor could possibly be made profitable in Nebraska, the Territory should become a slave State. The last contingency was generally recognized as highly improbable; one of the first two was the direct objective point.

On January 16, 1854, Dixon, of Kentucky, gave notice of an amendment abolishing the Missouri Compromise in the case of Nebraska This was the first open signal of danger to the Missouri Compromise; and, on the following day, Sumner, of

Massachusetts, gave notice of an amendment to the bill, providing that nothing contained in it should abrogate or contravene that settlement of the slavery question. Douglas at once had the bill recommited, and, January 23, he reported, in its final shape, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which, in its ultimate and unexpected consequences, was one of the most far-reaching legislative acts in American history.

The bill divided the Territory from latitude 37° to latitude 43° 30′ into two Territories, the southern to be called Kansas and the northern Nebraska; the territory between latitude 36° 30′ and 37° was now left to the Indians. In the organization of both these Territories it was declared to be the purpose of the act to carry out the following three propositions and principles established by the compromise measures of 1850: *First*, That all questions of slavery in the Territories, or States to be formed from them, were to be left to the representatives of the people residing therein. *Second*, That cases involving title to slaves, or personal freedom, might be appealed from the local tribunals to the Supreme Court. *Third*, That the fugitive slave law should apply to the Territories. The section which extended the Constitution and laws of the United States over the Territories had the following proviso: "Except the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri into the Union, approved March 6, 1820, which, being inconsistent with the principles of non-intervention of Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise Measure, is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

The effects of the bill upon the parties of the time may be summarized as follows: *First*, It destroyed the Whig party the great mass of whose voters in the South went over to the Democratic party, and in the North to the new Republican

party; *Second*, It made the Democratic party almost entirely sectional, for the loss of its strong anti-slavery element in the North left it, in the course of the next few years, to a hopeless minority there: *Third*, It crystallized all the Northern element opposed to slavery into another sectional party soon to take the name of Republican; *Fourth*, It compelled all other elements, after a hopeless effort to form a new party on a new issue, to join one or the other sectional party. Its effects on the people of the two sections were still more unfortunate: in the North it laid the foundation for the belief, which the Dred Scott decision was soon to confirm, that the whole policy of the South was a greedy, grasping, selfish desire for the extension of slavery. In the South, by the grant of what none but the politicians had hitherto asked or expected, the abolition of the Missouri Compromise, it prepared the people for the belief that the subsequent forced setllement of Kansas by means of emigrant aid societies was a treacherous evasion by the North of the terms of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and still more the Dred Scott decision, which followed it, placed each section in 1860, to its own thinking, impregnably upon its own peculiar ground of aggrievement: the North remembered only the violation of the Compromise of 1820 by the Kansas-Nebraska bill, taking the Dred Scott decision as only an aggravation of the original offense; the South, ignoring the Compromise of 1820 as obsolete by mutual agreement, complained of the North's refusal to carry out fairly the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the Dred Scott decision.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

"We hunt your bondmen, flying from slavery's hateful hell;
Our voices, at your bidding, take up the blood-hound's yell;
We gather, at your summons, above our fathers' graves,
From Freedom's holy altar-horns to tear your wretched slaves!

"No! for us and for our children, the vow which we have given
For freedom and humanity is registered in Heaven;
No slave-hunt in our borders—no pirate in our strand!
No fetters in the Bay State, no slave upon our land!"

IN Convention, Wednesday, August 29, 1787, Mr Butler moved to insert after Article XV., "If any person bound to service or labor in any of the United States shall escape into another State, he or she shall not be discharged from such service or labor in consequence of any regulations existing in the State to which they escape, but shall be delivered up to the person justly claiming their service or labor," which, after some verbal modification, was agreed to *nem con.*

Hence, we see that when the Constitution was nearly completed, Slavery, through its attorney, Mr. Butler, of South Carolina, presented its little bill of extras. Like Oliver Twist, it wanted some more. Its new demand was that slaves escaping from one State into another might be followed and legally reclaimed. This requirement, be it observed, was entirely outside of any general and obvious necessity. No one could pretend that there was anything mutual in the obligation it sought to impose: to make every free American citizen, of whatever State or opinion, a spy, an officer, whose duty it was to hunt runaway slaves and legally return them to their "rightful owners." Still that this was requisite to the successful promulgation of slavery is very probable. No one will suppose that Massachusetts or New Hampshire were either anxious to secure the privilege of reclaiming her fugitive slaves who might escape into Carolina or Georgia, or had any desire to

enter into reciprocal engagements to this end. Nor could any one gravely insist that the provision for the mutual rendition of slaves was essential to the completeness of the Federal pact. The old Confederation had known nothing like it; yet no one asserted that the want of an inter-State fugitive slave law was among the necessities or grievances which had impelled the assembling of this Convention. But the inserting of a slave-catching clause in the Constitution would undoubtedly be regarded with favor by the slave-holding interest, and would strongly tend to render the new framework of government more acceptable to the extreme South. So, after one or two unsuccessful attempts, Mr. Butler finally gave to his proposition a shape in which it proved acceptable to a majority, and it was adopted with slight apparent resistance or consideration.

In these later days, since the radical injustice and iniquity of slave-holding have been more profoundly realized and generally appreciated, many subtle, and some able, attempts have been made to explain away this most unfortunate provision, for the reason that the Convention wisely and decorously excluded the terms "slave" and "slavery" from the Constitution, "because," as Mr. Madison says, "they did not choose to admit the right of property in man."

In the debate of Tuesday, July 29, 1788, in the North Carolina Ratification Convention, which was organized at Hillsborough July 21, 1788, Mr. Iredell begged leave to explain the reason of this clause (last clause, Section 2, Article IV.). "In some of the Northern States they have emancipated all their *slaves*. If any of our *slaves*," said he, "go there and remain there a certain time, they would, by the present laws, be entitled to their freedom, so that their masters could not get them again. This would be extremely prejudicial to the inhabitants of the Southern States, and to prevent it this clause is inserted in the Constitution. Though the word *slave* is not mentioned, this is the meaning of it. The Northern delegates, owing to their peculiar scruples on the subject of slavery, did not choose the word *slave* to be mentioned."

It has been argued that this provision does not contem-

plate the rendition of fugitives from slavery, but rather of runaway apprentices, persons who, having engaged in contracts for their own labor, have repudiated their engagements, and other such Jonahs. The records and reminiscences of the Convention, however, utterly refute and dissipate these vain and idle pretenses It is sheer absurdity to contend that South Carolina in the Convention was absorbingly intent on engrafting upon the Federal Constitution a provision for the recapture of runaway apprentices or anything of the sort What she meant was to extort from the apprehensions of a majority anxious for a more perfect union, a concession of authority to hunt fugitive slaves in any part of our broad national area, and legally to drag them back into perpetual bondage. If the Convention did not mean to grant exactly that, it trifled with a very grave subject and stooped to an unworthy deception. How much better to meet the issue proudly and manfully, saying frankly to the slave-holders: "This provision is contrary to equity and good conscience; hence we cannot obey it. To seize our fellow-man and thrust him into an abhorred bondage may in your eyes be innocent, in ours it would be crime. If, then, you are aggrieved in any case, by our refusal or neglect to return your fugitives, make out your bill for their fair market value, and call upon us for its payment. If we refuse it, you will then have a real grievance to allege—this, namely: that we have deprived you of what the Constitution recognizes as your property, and have failed to make recompense therefor. But you surely cannot blame us that, having been enlightened as to the moral nature of acts consented to, or stipulated for, by our fathers, we are unable longer to commit them. Take our property if you think yourself entitled to it; but allow us to be faithful to our convictions of duty and the promptings of humanity."

Governor Seward, in his speech of March 11, 1856, on "Freedom in the Territories," forcibly set forth the true and manly Northern ground on this subject, as follows:

"The law of nations disavows such compacts; the law of nature, written on the heart and consciences of freemen, repudiates them. I know that there are laws of various sorts which

regulate the conduct of men. There are constitutions and statutes, codes mercantile and codes civil; but when we are legislating for States, especially when we are founding States, all these laws must be brought to the standard of the law of God, must be tried by that standard, or must stand or fall by it. To conclude on this point: we are not slave-holders. We cannot, in our judgment, be either true Christians or real freemen if we impose on another a chain that we defy all human power to fasten on ourselves."

The new fugitive slave law proved especially obnoxious, both in principle and practice, to a large and earnest minority. It had been originally drafted by Senator Mason, of Virginia, a man conspicuously charged with that pro-slavery venom which made him in after years a leading rebel—and who had already signalized himself by his efforts to render the maintenance of the Union impossible on any other terms than those of the most utter and abject devotion, on the part of the North, to the most extreme pro-slavery aspirations and policy of the South. He opposed Mr. Clay's programme of compromise, as entirely too favorable to the North; he had been among the foremost of the Southern ultras in defeating that programme in its primitive shape; and he had stubbornly resisted the admission of California as a free State, unless and until paid for, by concessions on the part of the North. Yet his draft of a fugitive slave law was adopted by the great Compromise Committee, and ultimately rushed through the two houses, with little consideration and less scrutiny. When it was reached in its order in the lower house, Judge James Thompson obtained the floor—doubtless by pre-arrangement with Speaker Cobb—and spoke in favor of the measure as just and necessary, and closing his remarks by a demand of the previous question. This was sustained by a majority, and the bill—with all its imperfections on its head, and without affording an opportunity for amendment—was ordered to a third reading by 109 yeas to 79 nays, every member from a slave State who voted at all voted yea, with 28 Democrats and 3 Whigs from the free States. From the free States 33, from the slave

States 15, were absent or withheld their votes; and as the vote in the Senate stood 27 for to 12 against it, with 21 absent, it is noteworthy that it passed either house by the votes of a decided minority of the members thereof; still it is hardly probable that, had every member been present and voted, it would have been defeated.

This measure, so inconsiderately adopted, was specially objectionable to the more humane instincts of the free States in these particulars:

1st. It directed and provided for the surrender to the claimant of each alleged fugitive from slavery, without allowing such alleged fugitive a trial by jury; though the Federal Constitution expressly provides that, "in suits in common law where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved": so that, while any person of whom damages are claimed to the amount of twenty dollars is entitled to the trial of the issue by jury, he whose liberty or whose wife and children are in jeopardy is especially denied that right by this act. He may be entirely and unimpeachably white, for this act knows nothing of color; he may be the governor of a State, the bishop of a great church; he may be general-in-chief of the armies of the Union, engaged in a momentous war; but, if any one choose to swear that he is a slave who has escaped from his owner's service, he cannot require a trial by jury of the issue so raised, although the judge or commissioner before whom the claimant sees fit to bring him may be in league with that claimant to get him out of the protection of the law and into the power of his deadly enemies. And it is specially provided by this act that, "In no trial or hearing under this act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence."

2d. It did not even allow him a hearing before a judge, but authorized the captor to take him at once before any commissioner appointed to take depositions, etc., by a judge of the Federal courts, who was clothed by this act with plenary power in the premises; on whose rendition and certificate he might be hurried off at once into slavery without stay or appeal.

3d. Said commissioner was to receive ten dollars for his services in case he directed the surrender of the alleged fugitive, but only five dollars in case he, for any cause, decided against the claimant. The act thus, in fact, offered him a bribe to decide against the person charged with owing "service or labor."

4th. The persons charged with the duty of arresting the alleged fugitives were, in every instance, authorized and empowered by the act to summon and call to their aid the bystanders, or *posse comitatus*, of the proper county, to aid them in their work: "And all good citizens are hereby *commanded* to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law."

Mr. John Van Buren, in a letter to the opponents of this law, while admitting the right to reclaim and the duty of surrendering fugitives from slavery, condemned the enactment in all its most important features: First, as an assumption by Congress of a duty properly devolving on the States, and to be rightfully executed by State laws, tribunals and functionaries. The demurrer that the Supreme Court had decided adversely to this position was met by Mr. Van Buren as follows:

"By this decision, judges, in determining the question of authority, would probably be concluded; but in a popular discussion of the propriety of a law with a view to its repeal or modification, I suppose we are at liberty to believe in opposition to a decision of the Supreme Court. Even the executive and legislative departments deny its authority to bind them. The Supreme Court decided that the Alien and Sedition Law was constitutional, and Matthew Lyon was imprisoned under it. The President, Mr. Jefferson, decided that it was not, and pardoned Mr. Lyon. The Supreme Court decided that Congress could constitutionally charter a bank of the United States, and that the propriety and necessity for doing so were to be judged by Congress. The President, General Jackson, decided that such an act was unconstitutional and vetoed it. With these examples before me, I feel authorized to express the opinion

which I entertain, that the Fugitive Slave Act is unconstitutional, because Congress has no power to legislate upon the subject."

With regard to the denial by this act of all semblance of a jury trial to persons claimed under it as fugitive slaves, Mr. Van Buren was equally decided and forcible, as is evinced by these further extracts from his letter:

"But to those who regard the decision of the Supreme Court as conclusive, it is important to consider other objections to the act. Conceding the power of Congress to legislate upon this subject, I think the act in question is unconstitutional, because it does not give the person seized a trial by jury at the place where he is so seized, and before he is put in the custody of the claimant with a warrant to transport him. * * *

"It is urged that juries would not render verdicts in favor of claimants, where the right was established. This does not correspond with my observation of jury trials; on the contrary, whatever prejudice jurors may feel against the law, I have hardly ever known them to fail in obeying the directions of the court in points of law.

"It is also suggested that the expense of recovering a fugitive by this mode would amount to a destruction of the right. If such an evil exists, it is incident to the unfortunate relation. It certainly furnishes no reason why the Constitution should be violated, and a safeguard broken down in reference to the liberty of a human being, which is secured to him in defending a horse or a bale of cotton."

That the provisions of this act were harsh and cruel is certain; but that any act providing for the recovery of fugitives from slavery could have been at once humane and efficient is not obvious. And, as the capture and rendition of alleged slaves, under this act, claimed a large share of public attention during the three or four years immediately following its passage, while the residue of the compromise measures evoked no special excitement, and had none other than a noiseless, passive operation, it is not remarkable that greater success in slave-hunting, with greater alacrity on the part of free States in

ministering to such success, seemed to the general Northern mind the sum and substance, "the being's end and aim," of the compromises of 1850. And as the Federal Administration whereof Mr. Fillmore remained the official head, and Mr. Webster became the animating soul, gave prominence and emphasis to the exertions of its subordinates in aid of slave-catching, the alienation from it of anti-slavery Whigs became more and more decided and forcible.

Numerous arrests of alleged fugitives were made in various parts of the country, but not with uniform success. In New York city, Philadelphia, and other marts largely engaged in Southern trade no serious resistance was offered; though in one case, a black man, remanded to Maryland as a fugitive, was honorably rejected, and set at liberty by the claimant, as not the man for whom he had been mistaken. In Boston serious popular repugnance to rendition was repeatedly manifested, and in one place a colored person known as Shadrach, who had been arrested as a fugitive, was rescued and escaped. In other cases, however, and conspicuously in those of Thomas Sims and Anthony Barns, the State and city authorities, the judiciary, the military, the merchants, and probably the majority of the citizens, approved and aided the surrender. There were cases, however, wherein the popular sentiment of the country was on the side of the hunted blacks, as was evinced at Syracuse, New York, in the rescue of Jerry Logren, an alleged fugitive, from the hands of the authorities, and his protection by alternately hiding and forwarding him, until he made his escape into Canada. At Christiana, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where a considerable number of Africans were compactly settled, Edward Gorsuch, a Maryland slaveholder, who attempted, with two or three accomplices, to seize his alleged slaves, four in number, was resisted by the alarmed, indignant blacks, and received a ball from a musket fired by one of them, which proved fatal; and his son, who had accompanied him, was wounded. And in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Sherman M. Booth having been convicted in the United States District Court of aiding in the rescue of Joshua Glover, a

fugitive from St. Louis, the Supreme Court of that State, on a *habeas corpus* sued out in his behalf, decided the Fugitive Slave Law unconstitutional and void, and set him at liberty. This decision was overruled, however, by the Supreme Court of the United States, in an unanimous decision affirming the validity of the Fugitive Slave Law, and directing that, though a State court might properly grant a *habeas corpus* in behalf of a person imprisoned under Federal authority, yet, that the custodian in such case had only to make return that he *was* so held, and that his return, being proved truthful, must be accepted by the State court as sufficient and conclusive, the Federal and State jurisdiction being each sovereign within its proper sphere, and each entitled to entire respect from the other, though operative over the same territory; and this remains to this day the adjudicated law of the land.

The activity and universality of slave-hunting under the Act of 1850 were most remarkable. That act became a law on the 18th of September, and, within ten days thereafter a colored man named James Hamlet had been seized in the city of New York and very summarily dispatched to a woman in Baltimore, who claimed him as her slave. Before the act was a month old there had been several arrests under it. At Harrisburg and near New Bedford, Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, at Detroit and in other places, within the first year of its existence, more persons were probably seized as fugitive slaves than during the preceding sixty years. Many of the seizures were made under circumstances of great aggravation. Thus in Philadelphia, Euphemia Williams, who had lived in Pennsylvania in freedom all her life, as she affirmed, and had there become the mother of six living children, of whom the eldest was seventeen, was arrested in 1851 as the slave of a Marylander named Purnell, from whom she was charged with escaping twenty-two years before. Her six children were claimed, of course, as the property of her alleged master. Upon a full hearing, Judge Kane decided that she was not the person claimed by Purnell as his slave Mahala. But there were several instances in which persons who had lived in

unchallenged freedom from fifteen to twenty-five years were seized, surrendered, and carried away into life-long slavery.

The needless brutality with which these seizures were often made tended to intensify the popular repugnance which they occasioned. In repeated instances, the first notice the alleged fugitive had of his peril was given him by a blow on the head, sometimes with a club or stick of wood; and, being thus knocked down, he was carried, bleeding and insensible, before the facile commissioner, who made short work of identifying him and earning his ten dollars by remanding him into slavery. In Columbia, Penn., in March, 1852, a colored person named William Smith was seized as a fugitive by a Baltimore police officer, while working in a lumber yard, and, attempting to escape, the officer drew a pistol and shot him dead. In Wilkesbarre, Penn., a deputy marshal and three or four Virginians suddenly came upon a nearly white mulatto waiter at a hotel, and, falling upon him from behind with a club, partially shackled him. He fought them off with the handcuff which they had secured to his right wrist, and, covered with blood, rushed from the house and plunged into the Susquehanna, exclaiming: "I will be drowned rather than taken alive!" He was pursued to the river bank, and thence fired upon repeatedly at a very short distance as he stood in the water up to his neck, until a ball entered his head, instantly covering his face with blood. The bystanders, who had by this time collected, were disgusted and indignant, and the hunters, fearing their interposition, retired for consultation. He thereupon came out of the water, apparently dying, and lay down on the shore. One of his pursuers remarked that "dead niggers were not worth taking South." His clothes having been torn off in the scuffle, some one brought a pair of pantaloons and put them on him, and he was helped to his feet by a colored person named Rex. On seeing which, the hunters returned and presented their revolvers, driving him again into the river, where he remained more than an hour with only his head above the water. His claimants dared not come within his powerful grasp, as he afterwards said "he would have died contented could he have

carried two or three of them down with him." And the hunters were deterred or shamed by the spectators from further firing.

Preparations being made to arrest them as rioters, they absconded; whereupon their victim waded some distance up the stream, and was soon after found by some women, lying flat on his face in a corn-field, insensible. He was then duly cared for and his wounds dressed, which was the last that was seen of him. His assailants were afterward arrested in Philadelphia, on a charge of riot, on a warrant issued on due complaint by a State magistrate; but Justice Grier, of the United States Supreme Court, arrested the proceedings as an unauthorized interference with Federal officers in the discharge of their duty. In his opinion, discharging the prisoners, he said:

"We are unable to perceive in this transaction anything worthy of blame in the conduct of these officers in their unsuccessful endeavors to fulfill a most dangerous and disgusting duty; except, perhaps, a want of sufficient courage and perseverance in the attempt to execute the writ."

Of course, a law affording such facilities and temptations to kidnapping was not allowed to pass unimproved by the numerous villains who regarded colored people as the natural and lawful prey of whites under all circumstances. *The Kentucky Yeoman*, a Democratic pro-slavery organ, once remarked that the work of arresting fugitives had become a regular business along the border line between the slave and free States, and that some of those engaged in it were not at all particular as to the previous slavery or freedom of those they arrested. How could it be expected that they should be? In many instances free colored girls were hired for household service at some point distant from that where they had previously resided and were known, and, being thus unsuspectingly spirited away from all who could identify them, were hurried off into slavery. Sometimes, though not often, colored people were tempted by heavy bribes to betray their brethren into the hands of the slave-hunters. In one instance a clerk in a dry goods store in Western New York, who was of full age, a member of the

church, and had hitherto borne a respectable character, hired two colored boys to work for him in a hotel in Ohio, and on his way thither sold them as fugitive slaves to three Kentuckians, who appear to have believed his representations One of the intended victims, detecting the plot, escaped from the cars, knocking down the Kentuckian who attempted to prevent him. The other was sold for $750 to an honorable slave-holder in Warsaw, Kentucky, who, upon proof of the outrage, promptly and cheerfully returned him to freedom. One woman, who was hired from New York, to live as a servant in Newark, New Jersey, was taken directly through Newark to Washington by her husband, and there offered to a slave-trader for $600, but not accepted; when she, having become alarmed, appealed to the hotel-keeper for protection; whereupon the kidnappers abandoned her, but were ultimately arrested at Elliot's Mills, Maryland, and returned to New York, where the husband was convicted and sent to the penitentiary. In one instance, a Negro near Edwardsville, Illinois, who had been employed in the work of capturing several alleged fugitives, finally met a white man on the highway, presented a pistol, and arrested him as a runaway slave, for whom a reward of $[illegible]0 had been offered. The white man, however, happened to be acquainted in Edwardsville, and was thus enabled to establish his right to himself.

The business of slave-hunting became so profitable that the sheriff of Montreal, Canada, received in January, 1855, a letter from a police officer and constable in Frederick, Maryland, making this tempting proposition:

"Vast numbers of slaves," says the Frederick official, "escaping from their masters or owners, succeed in reaching your province; and are, therefore, without the pale of fugitive slave law, and can only be restored by cunning, together with skill. Large rewards are offered and will be paid for their return, and could I find an efficient person to act with me, a great deal of money could be made, as I would equally divide. The only apprehension we have of approaching too far into Canada is the fear of being arrested; and, had I a good assistant

in your city who would induce the colored people to visit the frontier, I would be there to pay the cash. On your answer, I can furnish names and descriptions of fugitives."

Some of the judicial decisions evoked by this carnival of man-hunting were most remarkable In Sandusky, Ohio, four men and women with several children were seized from a boat about to leave for Detroit, by one who claimed to be their owner. Mr. Rush R. Sloane, a lawyer, was employed to act as their counsel. As no one claimed custody of these persons or produced any right or warrant justifying their detention, Mr. Sloane declared to the bystanders that their seizure seemed to be unjustifiable; whereupon a rush was made for the door; a man who had hitherto been silent now said: "Here are the papers; I own the slaves; I will hold you individually responsible for their escape." They did escape and Mr. Sloane was thereupon prosecuted for their value, and compelled by the judgment of a Federal court to pay the sum of $3,950 and costs. In California, then completely under the domination of the slave power, which was especially strong in the selection of judges, matters were carried with a very high hand.

In several instances, masters who had migrated or sent their sons to that region attended by slaves, undertook to reclaim these as fugitives, and return them by force to the banks of the lower Mississippi; and the Supreme Court of this State became their accomplice for this purpose. The violation of law to this end was so palpable and shameless as to excite general remark, if not general indignation. In one leading case the court ruled, in effect, that the petitioner, being young, in bad health, and probably unadvised of the constitutional provision of that State making all its inhabitants free, "is permitted take Archy back to Mississippi." An old lawyer drily remarked, while all around were stigmatizing this decision as atrocious, that "He thought it a very fair compromise, since it gave the law to the North, and the Negro to the South."

The surrender of Anthony Burns probably excited more feeling than any other alleged fugitive, in that it attained unusual publicity, and took place in New England after the North

had begun to feel the first throbs of the profound agitation excited by the repudiation of the Missouri Compromise in the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

On the 2d of June, 1854, the repudiation of the Missouri compact having been consummated in the passage and Presidential approval of the Kansas-Nebraska bill—Anthony Burns having been adjudged a fugitive at Boston, President Pierce ordered the United States cutter "Morris" to take him from that city to life-long bondage in Virginia.

Our flag, the emblem of Freedom, proudly floating over one doomed to life-long bondage! We grow sick at heart as we think: "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!"

At this time there appeared in a prominent New York paper the following spirited lines:

HAIL TO THE STARS AND STRIPES!

Hail to the Stars and Stripes! the boastful flag all hail!
The tyrant trembles now, and at the sight grows pale;
The Old World groans in pain, and turns her eye to see,
Beyond the Western main, the emblem of the free.

Hail to the Stars and Stripes! hope beams in every ray!
And shining through the bars of gloom, points out the way.
The Old World sees the light that shall her cells illume;
And, shrinking back to night, Oppression reads her doom.

Hail to the Stars and Stripes! they float in every sea;
The crystal waves speed on the emblem of the free!
Beneath the azure sky of soft Italia's clime,
Or where auroras die in solitude sublime.

All hail the flaunting lie! the stars grow pale and dim—
The stripes are bloody scars, a lie the flaunting hymn!
It shields the pirate's deck, it binds a man in chains;
It yokes the captive's neck, and wipes the bloody stains.

Tear down the flaunting lie! half-mast the starry flag!
Insult no sunny sky with Hate's polluted rag!
Destroy it, ye who can! deep sink it in the waves!
It bears a fellow-man to groan with fellow-slaves.

Awake the burning scorn! the vengeance long and deep,
That till a better morn shall neither tire nor sleep!
Swear once again the vow, O freeman! dare to do!
God's will is ever now! may this thy will renew!

Enfurl the boasted lie, till Freedom lives again,
To reign once more in truth among untrammeled men!
Roll up the starry sheen—conceal its bloody stains;
For in its folds are seen the stamp of rusting chains.

Be bold, ye heroes all! spurn, spurn the flaunting lie,
Till Peace, and Truth, and Love, shall fill the bending sky;
Then, floating in the air, over hill, and dale, and sea,
'T will stand forever fair, the emblem of the free!



DRED SCOTT.



HANNAH, WIFE OF DRED SCOTT.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION.

"Great Heaven! Is this our mission? End in this the prayers and tears,
The toil, the strif , the watchings of our youuger, better years?
Still as the Old World rolls in light, shall ours in shadow torn,
A beamless chaos, cursed of God, through outer darkness borne?
Where the far nations looked for light, a blackness in the air?
Where for words of hope they listened, the long wail of despair?

IN the year 1851 Dred Scott, an African, began suit in a local court in St. Louis to recover his and his family's freedom from slavery.

He alleged that his master, one Dr. Emerson, an army surgeon living in Missouri, had taken him, as a slave, to the military post at Rock Island, in the State of Illinois, and, afterwards, to Fort Snelling, situated in what was originally upper Louisiana, but was at that time part of Wisconsin Territory, and now forms part of the State of Minnesota. While at this later post, Dred Scott, with his master's consent, married a colored woman, also brought as a slave from Missouri, and of this marriage two children were born. All this happened between the years 1834 and 1838. Afterwards Dr. Emerson brought Dred Scott and his family back to Missouri. In this suit they now claimed freedom, because, during the time of residence with their master at these military posts, slavery was there prohibited by positive law; namely, at Rock Island by the Ordinance of 1787, and later by the constitution of Illinois; at Fort Snelling by the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820, and sundry other acts of Congress relating to Wisconsin Territory.

The local court at St. Louis, before which this action was brought, appears to have made short work of the case. It had become settled legal doctrine by Lord Mansfield's decision in the Sommersett case, rendered four years before our Declaration of Independence, that "the state of slavery is of such a

nature that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons moral or political, but only positive law. It is so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law." The learned chief-justice, therefore, ordered that Sommersett, being claimed as a Virginia slave, brought by his master into England, and attempted to be carried away against his will, should be discharged from custody or restraint, because there was no positive law in England to support slavery. The doctrine was subsequently modified by another English chief-justice, Lord Stowell, in 1827, to the effect that absence of positive law to support slavery in England only operates to suspend the master's authority, which is revived if the slave voluntarily returns into an English colony where slavery does exist by positive law.

The States of the Union naturally inherited and retained the common law of England and the principles and maxims of English jurisprudence not necessarily abrogated by the change of government, and, among others, this doctrine of Lord Mansfield. Unlike England, however, where there was no slavery and no law for or against it, some of the American States had positive laws establishing slavery, others positive laws prohibiting it. Lord Mansfield's doctrine, therefore, enlarged and strengthened by American statutes and decisions, had come to be substantially this: Slavery, being contrary to natural right, exists only by virtue of local law; if the master takes his slave from permanent residence into a jurisdiction where slavery is prohibited, the slave, therefore, acquires the right to his freedom everywhere. On the other hand, Lord Stowell's doctrine was similarly enlarged and strengthened, so as to allow the master right of transit and temporary sojourn in free States and Territories, without suspension or forfeiture of his authority over his slave.

Under the somewhat complex American system of government, in which the Federal Union and the several States each claim sovereignty and independent action within certain limitations, it became the theory and practice that toward each other the several States occupied the attitude of foreign

nations, which relation was governed by international law, and that the principle of comity alone controlled the recognition and enforcement by any State of the law of any other State. Under this theory, the courts of slave States had generally accorded freedom to slaves, even when acquired by the laws of a free State, and, reciprocally, the courts of free States had enforced the master's right to his slave where that right depended on the laws of a slave State. In this spirit and conforming to this established usage, the local court of Missouri declared Dred Scott and his family free.

The claimant, loath to lose these four human "chattels," carried the case to the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri, where, at its March term, 1852, it was reversed and a decree rendered that those Africans were not entitled to freedom. Three judges formed the court and two of them joined in an opinion, bearing internal evidence that it was prompted not by considerations of law and justice, but by a spirit of retaliation growing out of the ineradicable antagonism of freedom and slavery. The opinion of the court runs thus:

"Every State has the right of determining how far, in a spirit of comity, it will respect the laws of other States. Those laws have no intrinsic right to be enforced beyond the State in which they are enacted. The respect allowed them will depend altogether on their conformity to the policy of our institutions. No State is bound to carry into effect enactments conceived in a spirit hostile to that which pervades her own laws. It is a humiliating spectacle to see the courts of a State confiscating the property of her own citizens by the command of a foreign law. * * * Times now are not as they were when the former decisions on this subject were made. Since then not only individuals, but States, have been possessed of a dark and fell spirit in relation to slavery, whose gratification is sought in the pursuit of measures whose inevitable consequence must be the overthrow and destruction of our Government. Under such circumstances it does not behoove the State of Missouri to show the least countenance to any measure which might gratify this spirit. She is willing to assume her

full responsibility for the existence of slavery within her limits, nor does she seek to share or divide it with others."

To this partisan bravado the third judge replied with a dignified rebuke in his dissenting opinion.

"As citizens of a slave-holding State we have no right to complain of our neighbors in Illinois because they introduce with their State constitution a prohibition of slavery; nor has any citizen of Missouri who removes with his slave to Illinois a right to complain that the fundamental law of the State to which he removes, and in which he makes his residence, dissolves the relation between him and his slave. It is as much his own voluntary act as if he had executed a deed of emancipation. * * * There is with me nothing in the law relating to slavery which distinguishes it from law on any other subject, or allows any more accommodation to the temporary public excitements which are gathered around it. * * * In this State it has been recognized from the beginning of the Government as a correct position in law, that a master who takes his slave to reside in a State or Territory where slavery is prohibited thereby emancipates his slave (citing cases). * *

"But the Supreme Court of Missouri, so far from standing alone on this question, is supported by the decisions of other slave States, including those in which it may be supposed there was the least disposition to favor emancipation (citing cases). * * * Times may have changed, public feeling may have changed, but principles have not and do not change; and, in my judgment, there can be no safe basis for judicial decision but in those principles which are immutable."

These utterances, it must be remembered, occurred in the year 1852, when all slavery agitation was supposed to have been forever settled. They show conclusviely that the calm was superficial and delusive, and that this deep-reaching contest was still, as before the adjustment of 1820, actually transforming the various institutions of society. Gradually, and as yet unnoticed by the public, the motives disclosed in these opinions were beginning to control courts of justice, and popular discussion and excitement were not only shaping

legislation, but changing the tenor of legal decisions throughout the country.

Not long after the judgment by the Supreme Court of Missouri, Dred Scott and his family were sold to a man named Sanford, who was a citizen of New York. This circumstance afforded a ground for bringing a similar action in a Federal tribunal, and, accordingly, Dred Scott once more sued for freedom in the United States Circuit Court, at St. Louis. The case was tried in May, 1854, and adecree rendered that they were Negro slaves and lawful property of Sanford. As a final effort to obtain justice, they appealed by a writ of error to the Supreme Court of the United States, the highest judicial tribunal of the nation.

Before this court of last resort the case was argued a first time in the spring of 1856. The country had been for two years in a blaze of political excitement. Civil war was raging in Kansas; Congress was in a turmoil of partisan discussion; a Presidential election was impending, and the whole people were anxiously noting the various phases of party politics. But few persons knew there was such a thing as the Dred Scott case on the docket of the Supreme Court, but those few appreciated the importance of the points it involved, and several distinguished lawyers volunteered to take part in the argument. Two questions were presented to the court: First, Is Dred Scott a citizen entitled to sue? Secondly, Did his residence at Rock Island and Fort Snelling, under the various prohibitions of slavery existing there, work his freedom?

The Supreme Court was composed of nine justices, namely: Chief Justice Taney and Associate Justices McLean, Wayne, Catron, Daniel, Nelson, Grier, Curtis and Campbell. There was at once manifested among the judges not only a lively interest in the questions presented, but a wide difference of views as to the manner of treating them. Consultations of the Supreme Court were always shrouded in inviolable secrecy, but the opinions afterwards published indicate that the political aspect of slavery, which was then convulsing the country, from the very first, found a certain sympathy and reflection in

these grave judicial deliberations. The discussions yet turned upon certain merely technical rules to be applied to the pleadings under review: and, ostensibly to give time for further examination, the case was postponed, and a re-argument ordered for the next term. It may, however, be suspected that the nearness of the Presidential election had more to do with this postponement than did the exigencies of the law.

The Presidential election came and Mr. Buchanan was chosen. Soon after, the court again met to begin its long winter term; and about the middle of December, 1856, the Dred Scott case was once more elaborately argued. Again occupying the attention of the court for four successive days, as had also been done in the first hearing, the eminent counsel, after passing lightly over mere technical subtleties, discussed very fully what was acknowledged to be the leading point in the controversy—namely, whether Congress had power under the Constitution to prohibit slavery in the Federal Territories, as it had done by the Missouri Compromise Act and various other laws. It was precisely the policy or impolicy of this and similar prohibitions which formed the bone of contention in party politics. The question of their constitutional validity was certain to take even a higher rank in public interest.

When, after the second argument, the judges took up the case in conference for decision, the majority held that the decision of the Missouri federal tribunal should simply be affirmed on its merits. In conformity to this view, Mr. Justice Nelson was instructed to prepare an opinion to be read as the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States; such a paper was thereupon duly written by him of the following import: It was a question, he thought, whether a temporary residence in a free State or Territory could work the emancipation of a slave. It was the exclusive province of each State, by its legislature or courts of justice, to determine this question for itself. This determined, the federal courts are bound to follow the State's decision. The Supreme Court of Missouri had decided Dred Scott to be a slave. In two cases

tried since, the same judgment had been given. Though former decisions had been otherwise, this must now be admitted as "the settled law of the State," "which," he said, "is conclusive of the case in this court."

This very narrow treatment of the points at issue, having to do with the mere lifeless machinery of the law, was strikingly criticised in the dissenting opinion afterwards read by Mr. Justice McLean, whose reply, by way of anticipation, may properly be quoted here. He denied that it was properly a Missouri question:

"It involves a right claimed under an act of Congress and the constitution of Illinois, and which cannot be decided with out the consideration and construction of those laws."

"Rights, sanctioned for twenty years, ought not and cannot be repudiated, with any semblance of justice, by one or two decisions, influenced, as declared, by a determination to counteract the excitement against slavery in the free States. Having the same rights of sovereignty as the State of Missouri in adopting a constitution, I can perceive no reason why the institutions of Illinois should not receive the same consideration as those of Missouri. The Missouri court disregards the express provisions of an act of Congress, and the constitution of a sovereign State, both of which laws, for twenty-eight years, it had not only regarded, but carried into effect. If a State court may do this, on a question involving the liberty of a human being, what protection do the laws afford?"

Had the majority of the judges carried out their original intention, and announced their decision in the form in which Mr. Justice Wilson, under their instruction, wrote it, the case of Dred Scott would, after a passing notice, have gone to a quiet sleep under the dust of the law libraries. A far different fate was in store for it. The nation was then being stirred to its very foundation by the slavery agitation. The party of pro-slavery reaction was, for the moment, in the ascendant; and, as by an irresistible impulse, the Supreme Court of the United States was swept from its hitherto impartial judicial moorings into the dangerous seas of politics.

Before Judge Nelson's opinion was submitted to the judges in conference, for final adoption as the judgment of the court, a movement seems to have taken place among the members, not only to change the ground of the decision, but, also, to greatly enlarge the field of inquiry. It is stated by one of the participants in that memorable trial (Mr. Justice Campbell) that this occurred "upon a motion of Mr. Justice Wayne, who stated that the case had created public interest and expectation; that it had been twice argued, and that an impression existed that the questions argued would be considered in the opinion of the court." He also says that "the apprehension had been expressed by others of the court, that the court would not fulfill public expectation, or discharge its duties, by maintaining silence upon these questions; and, my impression is, that several opinions had already been begun among the members of the court in which a full discussion of the case was made, before Justice Wayne made this proposal."

The exact time when this movement was begun cannot now be ascertained. The motives which prompted it can be inferred by recalling contemporaneous political events. A great controversy divided public opinion, whether slavery might be extended, or should be restricted. The Missouri Compromise had been repealed to make such an extension possible. The terms of that repeal were properly couched in ambiguous language. Kansas and Nebraska were left "perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." Whether, under the Constitution, slavery could be excluded from the Federal Territories, was affirmed by Northern and denied by Southern Democrats. Northern and Southern Democrats, acting together in the Cincinnati National Convention, had ingeniously avoided any solution of this difference.

A two-fold interpretation had enabled that party to elect Mr. Buchanan, not by its own popular strength, but by the division of its opponents. Notwithstanding its momentary success, unless it could develop new sources of strength, the party had only a precarious hold upon power. Its majority in the Senate

was waning. In Kansas, free-State emigration was outstripping the South in numbers, and checkmating her in border strife. According to present relative growth in sectional representation and sectional sentiment, the balance of power was slowly but steadily passing to the North.

Out of this doubt and difficulty there was one pathway that seemed easy and certain. All the individual utterances from the Democratic party agreed that the meaning of the words "subject to the Constitution" was a question for the courts. This was the original compact between Northern and Southern Democrats in caucus, when Douglas consented to repeal. Douglas, shorn of his prestige by his defeat for Presidential nomination, must accept conditions from his successful rival. The Dred Scott case afforded the occasion for a decision. Of the nine judges on the supreme bench seven were Democrats, and of these five were appointed from slave States. A better opportunity for the South to obtain a favorable dictum could never be expected to arise. A declaration by the Supreme Court of the United States that, under the Constitution, Congress possessed no power to prohibit slavery in the Federal Territories, would by a single breath end the old and begin a new political era. Congress was in session, and the political leaders were assembled at Washington. Political topics excluded all other conversation or thought. Politics reddened the plains of Kansas; politics had recently desecrated the Senate chamber with a murderous personal assault; politics contended greedily for the spoils of a new administration; politics nursed a tacit conspiracy to nationalize slavery. The slavery sentiment ruled society, ruled the Senate, ruled the executive mansion. It is not surprising that this universal influence flowed in at the open door of the national hall of justice—that it filtered through the very walls which surrounded the consulting-room of the Supreme Court.

The judges were, after all, but men. They dined, they talked, they exchanged daily personal and social courtesies with the political world. Curiosity, friendship, patriotism led them to the floors of Congress to listen to the great debates.

Official ceremony called them into the presence of the President, of legislators, of diplomats. They were feasted, flattered, questioned, reminded of their great opportunity, tempted with the suggestion of their great authority, as Attorney-General Cushing once addressed them:

"Yours is not the gauntleted hand of the soldier, nor yours the voice which commands armies, rules cabinets, or leads senates, but, though you are none of these, yet you are backed by all of them. Theirs is the external power which sustains your moral authority; you are the incarnate mind of the political body of the nation. In the complex institutions of our country you are the pivot point upon which the rights and liberties of all, government and people alike, turn; or, rather, you are the central light of constitutional wisdom around which they perpetually revolve. Long may this court retain the confidence of our country as the great conservators not of the private peace only, but of the sanctity and integrity of the Constitution."

They could render their names illustrious; they could honor their States; they could do justice to the South; they could perpetuate their party; they could settle the slavery question; they could end sectional hatred, extinguish civil war, preserve the Union, save their country. Adavanced age, physical feebleness, party bias, the political ardor of the youngest and the political satiety of the eldest, all conspired to draw them under the influence of such considerations.

One of the judges, in official language, frankly avows the motive and object of the majority of the court. "The case," he wrote, "involves private rights of value, and constitutional principles of the highest importance, about which there had become such a difference of opinion that the peace and harmony of the country required the settlement of them by judicial decision." This language betrays the confusion of ideas, and misconception of authority which tempted the judges beyond their proper duty. Required only to decide a question of private rights, they thrust themselves forward to sit as umpires in a quarrel of parties and factions.

In an evil hour they yielded to the demands of "public interest," and resolved to fill "public expectation." Mr. Justice Wayne proposed that the chief justice should write an opinion on all the questions as the opinion of the court. This was assented to, some reserving to themselves to qualify their assent as the opinion might require. Others of the court proposed to have no question, save one, discussed. The extraordinary proceeding was calculated to touch the pride of Mr. Justice Nelson. He appears to have given it a kind of sullen acquiescence. "I was not present," he writes, "when the majority decided to change the ground of the decision, and assigned the preparation of the opinion to the chief justice, and, when advised of the change, I simply gave notice that I should read the opinion I had prepared as my own, and which is the one on file." From this time the pens of other judges were busy, and in the inner political circles of Washington the case of Dred Scott gradually became a shadowy and portentous *cause célèbre*.

The first intimation which the public at large had of the coming new dictum was given in Mr. Buchanan's inaugural. The fact that he did not contemplate such an announcement until after his arrival in Washington, leads to the inference that it was prompted from high quarters. In Congressional and popular discussions the question of the moment was at what period in the growth of a Territory its voters might exclude or establish slavery. Referring to this, Mr. Buchanan said: "It is a judicial question which legitimately belongs to the Supreme Court of the United States, before whom it is now pending, and will, it is understood, be speedily and finally settled. To their decision, in common with all good citizens, I shall cheerfully submit, whatever this may be."

The popular acquiescence being thus invoked by the Presidential voice and example, the court announced its decision two days afterwards—March 6, 1857. The essential character of the transaction impressed itself upon the very form of the judgment, if, indeed, it may be called at all by that name. Chief Justice Taney read the opinion of the court. Justices Nelson,

Wayne, Daniel, Grier, Catron and Campbell each read a separate and individual opinion, agreeing with the chief justice on some points, and omitting or disagreeing on others, or arriving at the same result by different reasoning, and in the same manner differing with one another. The two remaining associate justices, McLean and Curtis, read emphatic dissenting opinions. Thus the collective utterance of the bench resembled the speeches of a town meeting rather than the decision of a court, and employed two hundred and forty printed pages of learned legal disquisition to order the simple dismissal of a suit.

Compared with the prodigious effort, the result is a ridiculous anti-climax, revealing the motive and animus of the whole affair. The opinion read by Chief Justice Taney was long and elaborate, and the following were among its leading conclusions:

That the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States do not include or refer to Negroes otherwise than as property; that they cannot become citizens of the United States, nor sue in the federal courts; that Dred Scott's claim to freedom, by reason of his residence in Illinois, was a Missouri question, which Missouri law had decided against him; that the Constitution of the United States recognizes slaves as property, and pledges the Federal Government to protect it; and that the Missouri Compromise Act and like prohibitory laws are unconstitutional; that the Circuit Court of the United States had no jurisdiction in the case, and could give no judgment in it, and must be directed to dismiss the suit.

This remarkable decision challenged the attention of the whole people to a degree never before excited by any act of their courts of law. Multiplied editions were at once printed and scattered broadcast over the land, read with the greatest avidity, and earnestly criticised.

The public sentiment regarding it immediately divided, generally on existing party lines—the South and the Democrats accepting and commending it, the North and the Republicans spurning and condemning it. The great anti-slavery

public was not slow in making a practical application of its dogmas: that a sweeping and revolutionary exposition of the Constitution had been attempted, when, confessedly, the case and question had no right to be in court; that an evident partisan dictum of national judges had been built on an avowed partisan decision of State judges; that both the legislative and judicial authority of the nation had been trifled with; that the settler's "sovereignty" in Kansas consisted only of a Southern planter's right to bring his slaves there; and that, if under the property theory the Constitution carries slavery to the Territories, it would, by the same inevitable logic, carry it into the free States.

But much more offensive to the Northern mind than his conclusions of law were the language and historical assertions by which Chief Justice Taney strove to justify them. We quote from his decision:

"In the opinion of the court, the legislation and histories of the times, and the language used in the Declaration of Independence show that neither the class of persons who had been imported as slaves, nor their descendants, whether they had become free or not, were then acknowledged as a part of the people, nor intended to be included in the general words used in that memorable instrument. It is difficult, at this day, to realize the state of public opinion in relation to the unfortunate race which prevailed in the civilized and enlightened portions of the world at the time of the Declaration of Independence and when the Constitution of the United States was framed and adopted. But the public history of every European nation displays it in a manner too plain to be mistaken. They had, for more than a century before, been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that they had no rights that the white man was bound to respect; and that the Negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery for his benefit. He was bought and sold and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic, whenever a profit could be made by it."

Quoting the provisions of several early slave codes, he continues:

"They show that a perpetual and impassable barrier was intended to be erected between the white race and the one which they had reduced to slavery, and governed as subjects with absolute and despotic power, and which they then looked upon as so far below them in the scale of created beings that intermarriages between white persons and Negroes or mulattoes were regarded as unnatural or immoral, and punished as crimes, not only in parties, but in the person who joined them in marriage. And no distinction, in this respect, was made between the free Negro or mulatto and the slave, but this stigma, of the deepest degradation, was fixed upon the whole race."

As to the assertion in the Declaration that all men are created equal, he says:

"The general words above quoted would seem to embrace the whole human family, and, if they were used in a similar instrument at this day, would be so understood. But it is too clear for dispute that the enslaved African race were not intended to be included, and formed no part of the people who framed and adopted this Declaration; for if the language, as understood in that day, would embrace them, the conduct of the distinguished men who framed the Declaration of Independence would have been utterly and flagrantly inconsistent with the principles they asserted, and instead of the sympathy of mankind, to which they so confidently appealed, they would have deserved and received universal rebuke and reprobation."

He then makes the following application of the facts thus assumed:

"There are only two provisions which point to them and include and treat them as property, and make it the duty of the Government to protect it; no other power in relation to this race can be found in the Constitution. * * * No one, we presume, supposes that any change in public opinion or feeling in relation to this unfortunate race, in the civilized nations of Europe or in this country, should induce the court to give to the words of the Constitution a more liberal construction in

their favor than they were intended to bear when the instrument was framed and adopted. * * * It is not only the same in words, but the same in meaning, and delegates the same powers to the Government, and reserves and secures the same rights and privileges to the citizen; and as long as it continues to exist in its present form, it speaks not only in the same words, but with the same meaning and intent with which it spoke when it came from the hands of its framers and was voted on and adopted by the people of the United States."

The North protested loudly and indignantly at this cold and pitiless historical delineation of the bondage, ignorance and degradation of the unfortunate kidnapped Africans and their descendants in a bygone century, as an immutable basis of constitutional interpretation. The people and press of that section seized upon the salient phrase of the statement, and, applying it to the present time, accused the chief justice of saying that a Negro has no rights which a white man is bound to respect. This was certainly a distortion of his exact words and meaning; yet the exaggeration was more than half excusable, in view of the literal and unbending rigor with which he proclaimed the constitutional disability of the entire African Race in the United States, and denied their birthright in the Declaration of Independence. His unmerciful logic made the black man before the law less than a slave. Against such a debasement of any living image of the Divine Maker the resentment of the public conscience of the North was quick and unsparing.

Had Chief Justice Taney's delineation been historically correct, it would have been nevertheless unwise and unchristian to embody it in the form of a disqualifying legal sentence and an indelible political brand. But its manifest untruth was clearly shown by Mr. Justice Curtis in his dissenting opinion. He reminded the chief justice that at the adoption of the Constitution—

"In five of the thirteen original States colored persons then possessed the elective franchise, and were among those by whom the Constitution was ordained and established. If

so, it is not true in point of fact that the Constitution was made exclusively by the white race, and that it was made exclusively for the white race is, in my opinion, not only an assumption not warranted by anything in the Constitution, but contradicted by its opening declaration that it was ordained and established by the people of the United States for themselves and their posterity; and as free colored persons were then citizens of at least five States, and so in every sense part of the people of the United States, they were among those for whom and whose posterity the Constitution was ordained and established."

He also in the same opinion says:

"I shall not enter into an examination of the existing opinions of that period respecting the African race, nor into any discussion concerning the meaning of those who asserted in the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. My own opinion is that a calm comparison of these assertions of universal abstract truths, and of their own individual opinions and acts would not leave these men under any reproach of inconsistency; that the great truths they asserted on that solemn occasion they were ready and anxious to make effectual whenever a necessary regard to circumstances, which no statesman can disregard without producing more evil than good, would allow; and that it would not be just to them, nor true in itself, to allege that they intended to say that the Creator of all men had endowed the white race exclusively with the great natural rights which the Declaration of Independence asserts."

Mr. Justice McLean in his dissenting opinion completes the outlines of the true historical picture in accurate language:

"I prefer the lights of Madison, Hamilton and Jay as a means of construing the Constitution in all its bearings, rather than to look behind that period into a traffic which is now declared to be piracy, and punished with death by Christian nations. I do not like to draw the sources of our domestic rela-

tions from so dark a ground. Our independence was a great epoch in the history of freedom; and while I admit the Government was not made especially for the colored race, yet many of them were citizens of the New England States, and exercised the rights of suffrage when the Constitution was adopted, and it was not doubted by any intelligent person that its tendencies would greatly ameliorate their condition.

"Many of the States on the adoption of the Constitution, or shortly afterward, took measures to abolish slavery within their respective jurisdictions; and it is a well-known fact that a belief was cherished by the leading men, South as well as North, that the institution of slavery would gradually decline until it would become extinct.

"The increased value of slave labor, in the culture of cotton and sugar, prevented the realization of this expectation. Like all other communities and States, the South were influenced by what they considered to be their own interest. But if we are to turn our attention to the dark ages of the world, why confine our view to colored slavery? On the same principles white men were made slaves. All slavery has its origin in power and is against right."

The Dred Scott case, as we have stated the opinion of the majority of the justices, was that Dred Scott was not a citizen and had no right to sue in a federal court, so the case was thrown out.

The ownership of Dred Scott and his family passed by inheritance to the family of a Massachusetts Republican member of Congress, and they were emancipated by Taylor Blow, Esq., on May 26, 1857, to whom they had been conveyed by Mr. Choffee for that purpose.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE KANSAS BORDER TROUBLE.

"So shall the Northern pioneer go joyfully on his way,
To wed Penobscot's waters to San Francisco's bay;
To make the rugged places smooth, and sow the vales with grain,
And bear with Liberty and Law the Bible in his train:
The mighty West shall bless the East, and sea shall answer sea,
And mountain unto mountain call, PRAISE GOD! FOR WE ARE FREE."

THE Territory of Kansas had been for some time the scene of antagonistic and contending factions. The border ruffians, supported by allies from Missouri and the Southern States, —intent upon securing for slavery a foothold within her broad and fertile prairies—on the one hand, and the free-State men, composed of the better class of her citizens, and emigrants from the East, on the other, made Kansas a scene of civil war, which resulted in settling forever the boundary line of slavery in the North and West.

The year 1855 was noted for murder, arson, and all imaginable crimes committed on either side, and in the spring of 1856 matters began to assume a warlike aspect.

The pro-slavery party on the Kansas border were reinforced by Colonel Buford from Alabama, at the head of a regiment of wild young men, mainly recruited in South Carolina and Georgia. They came in military array, armed, and with the avowed purpose of making Kansas a slave State at all hazards. On one of their raids into Kansas, a party of Buford's men, who were South Carolinians, took a Mr. Miller prisoner, and, finding that he was a free-State man and a native of South Carolina, they gravely tried him for treason to his native State! He was found guilty, and escaped with his life only, losing his horse and money.

Kansas now swarmed with the minions of the slave power, intent on her subjugation. On the morning of the 21st of

May, 1856, Lawrence was surrounded and surprised by various parties of enemies, part of them under General Atchison, who, with the "Platte County Rifles" and two pieces of artillery, approached from Lecompton, on the west, while another force, composed in good part of volunteers from the Atlantic Southern States, under Colonel Buford, beleaguered it on the east. They bristled with weapons from the United States Armory, then in charge of the Federal officers in Kansas. Nearly all the pro-slavery leaders, then in Kansas, or hovering along the Missouri border, were on hand; among them, Colonel Titus from Florida, Colonel Wilkes from South Carolina, General Stringfellow, a Virginian, Colonel Boone, hailing from Westport, and many others of temporary and local fame. The entire force was about 800 strong, having possession of Mount Oread, a hill which commanded the town. The pretext for this raid was the desire to serve legal processes in Kansas, although Deputy Marshal Fain, who held a part of those processes, had been in Lawrence the evening before and served two writs without a sign of resistance, as on several previous occasions. He now rode into the town with ten men, and arrested two leading free-State citizens, no one making objection. Meantime, the *posse*, so called, were busy in the suburbs breaking open houses and robbing the inmates. Fain remained in town until after noon, eating dinner with his party at the principal hotel, but neglecting to pay for it; then returned to the camp on the hill, and was succeeded by "Sheriff Jones" of that county, whose authority, being derived from the sham legislature, the people did not recognize. Jones rode into the town at the head of twenty men at three p. m., and demanded that all the arms should be given up to him, on pain of a bombardment. The people, unprepared to resist, consented to surrender their artillery, consisting of a twelve-pound howitzer and four smooth-bore pieces, carrying each a pound ball. All these had been buried some days before, but were now dug up and made over to Jones. A few muskets were likewise surrendered by their owners. The pro-slavery army now marched down the hill, when Atchison made a speech to them, declar-

ing that the Free-State Hotel and the two free-State printing-offices must be destroyed. "Sheriff Jones" declared that he had an order to that effect from Judge Lecompte, of the federal court. The whole force accordingly marched into the heart of the town, destroyed its printing offices, and fired some fifty rounds from their cannon at the Free-State Hotel, which, being solidly built of stone, was not much damaged thereby. Four kegs of gunpowder were then placed in it and fired, but only two of them exploded, making little impression. Fire was now applied to the building, and it was burnt to the bare and blackened walls. The dwelling of Governor Robinson was next set on fire, and, though the flames were twice extinguished, it was finally consumed. The total loss to the citizens of Lawrence by that day's robbery and arson was estimated at $150,000. None of them were killed or wounded, but one of the ruffians shot himself badly, and another was killed by a brick or stone knocked by one of their cannon from the upper story of the Free-State Hotel.

Such were the beginnings of the so-called "Kansas War," a desultory, wasteful, but not very bloody conflict, which continued, with alternations of activity and quiet, throughout the next year. One of its most noted incidents is known as the "Battle of Black Jack," wherein twenty-eight free-State men, led by old John Brown, of Osawatomie, fought and defeated, on the open prairie, fifty-six "border ruffians," headed by Captain H. Clay Pate, from Virginia, who professed to be an officer under Marshal Donaldson. It terminated in the surrender of Pate and all that remained of his band, twenty-one men, beside the wounded, with twenty-three horses and mules, wagons, provisions, camp equipage, and a considerable quantity of plunder, obtained just before by sacking a little free-State settlement, known as Palmyra.

The legislature chosen under the free-State constitution was summoned to meet at Topeka on the 4th of July, 1856, and its members assembled accordingly, but were not allowed to organize, Colonel Sumner with a force of regulars dispersing them by order of President Pierce.

The village of Osawatomie, in the southern part of the Territory, was sacked and burned on the 5th of June by a pro-slavery force, headed by General Whitfield. But few of the male citizens were at home and there was no resistance.

Leavenworth, being directly on the border and easily accessible from a populous portion of Missouri, was especially exposed to outrages. It was long under the control of the pro-slavery party, being a military post and a point whence overland trains and mails were dispatched, and at which a vast Federal patronage was concentrated. The office of *The Territorial Register* (free-State) was destroyed by a Missouri band December 20, 1855. Many collisions and murders occurred here and in the vicinity; and at length, on the recurrence of the municipal election, September 1, 1856, a large force, mainly of Missourians, took possession of the town, and, under the pretense of searching for arms, plundered and ravaged as they chose. William Phillips, a lawyer, refused to submit to their search, and stood on his defense. He killed two of his assailants, but was finally killed himself, while his brother, who aided him in his defense, had his arm shattered by a bullet. Phillips' house was burned, with several others, and every known free-State man put on board a steamboat and sent down the river. It was boasted by the Missouri journals that not a single "abolition vote" was cast at that election.

Meantime the emigrants, flocking to Kansas from the free States, were arrested on their pasage through Missouri and turned back, cannon being planted all along the Missouri River to stop the ascending steamboats from this purpose. Not many of these emigrants were actually plundered save of their passage money, which was in no case returned. A large party was finally made up of those whose progress to their intended homes had been thus obstructed, who proceeded thither by a circuitous route through Iowa and Nebraska; but who, on entering Kansas, were met by a Federal military force, and all their arms taken from them.

Yet the immigration continued; so that, while the office-holders, the military and all the recognized power and author-

ity were on the side of slavery, the free-State preponderance among the settlers constantly increased. The pro-slavery forces made strong incursions or raids into the Territory from time to time, but subsided into Missouri after a few days; and while a good share of the fighting, with most of the burning and plundering, was done by them, nearly all the building, the clearing, the plowing, and the planting were the work of free-State men. Meantime dissipation, exposure, and all manner of irregularities were constantly thinning the ranks of the pro-slavery volunteers from the South, while many of the better class among them, disgusted and remorseful, abandoned their evil work, and shrank away to some region wherein they were less generally detested. Under all its persecutions and desolations, Kansas was steadily maturing and hardening into the bone and sinew of a free State, not only, but of one fitted by education and experience to be an apostle of the gospel of universal freedom.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CIVIL WAR.

"What is the wail that shakes the land, clouding the face of day.
From Mississippi's gulf-worn strand to Narragansett Bay?
Must North and South, in bitter scorn, throw off the golden tie
That bound them on their marriage morn in holy unity?"

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, sixteenth President of the United States, was born in Kentucky on the 12th of February, 1809. At the early age of seven he was taken with his father's family to southern Indiana, where his youthful days were passed in poverty, hardship and toil. On becoming of age, he left the farm and river life, removed to Illinois, and studied law. He became brilliant in his profession, was elected to the legislature of his adopted State, and later was elected to Congress. He became nationally prominent in 1858, when, as the opponent of Stephen A. Douglas, he canvassed the State of Illinois for the United States Senate. His tilt with Mr. Douglas showed him to be one of the strongest debaters of the country.

In the Presidential canvass of 1860 Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, became the Republican candidate for the highest office within the gift of the American people. The vital principle of this party was opposition to the extension of slavery. In April of the same year the Democratic convention assembled at Charleston, South Carolina, but the Southern delegates withdrew from the assembly. The Northern delegates adjourned to Baltimore and chose Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, as their standard-bearer. The Southern delegates from the South, however, returned to Baltimore in the June following, and selected John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, as their leader. The American party chose John Bell, of Tennessee, as their candidate. The contest resulted in the election of Mr. Lincoln to the office of President.

The leaders of the South had declared that the choice of Lincoln for the Presidency would be a just cause for the dissolution of the American Union. A majority of the Cabinet and a large number of senators and representaties in Congress were advocates of disunion. It was seen that all the departments of government would soon pass under the control of the Republican party. James Buchanan was not himself a disunionist; but he declared himself not armed with the Constitutional power to prevent secession by force. The interval, therefore, between the election and inauguration of Mr. Lincoln was seized by the Southern leaders of the secession element as the fitting time to dissolve the Union.

The work of secession began in South Carolina on the 17th of December, 1860; a convention met at Charleston, and, after three days, passed an ordinance that the union hitherto existing between South Carolina and the other States was dissolved. The sentiment spread over the South with great rapidity. By February 1, 1861, six other States—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas—had all passed ordinances of secession. Nearly all the senators and representatives of these States resigned their seats in Congress, and gave themselves to the disunion cause.

In the secession conventions a few of the speakers denounced disunion as bad and ruinous. In the convention of Georgia, Mr. Stephens, afterwards Vice-President of the Confederate States, undertook to prevent the secession of his State. He delivered a great oration, in which he defended the theory of secession, but spoke against it on the ground that the measure was impolitic, ununion, and likely to prove disastrous.

On the 4th of February, 1861, delegates from six of the seceded States convened at Montgomery, Alabama, and formed a new Government, called the "Confederate States of America." On the 8th the Government was organized by electing Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, as Provisional President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, as Vice-President. A few days before a Peace Conference met at Washington, and proposed certain amendments to the Constitution. But Congress gave it little

attention, and the conference adjourned. The country seemed on the brink of destruction. Our army was on remote frontiers and our fleet in distant waters. The President seemed at a loss what to do. With the exceptions of Forts Sumter, Moultrie, Pickens, and Monroe, all the important ports in the seceded States had been seized by the Confederate authorities. Early in January, President Buchanan sent the "Star of the West" to reinforce Fort Sumter. But the ship was fired on by a Confederate battery and driven away from Charleston. Thus, in grief and gloom, the administration of President Buchanan drew to a close. Such was the alarming condition of affairs that it was deemed advisable for his successor, the new President, to enter the Capital by night.

The new cabinet was soon organized, with William H. Seward, of New York, as Secretary of State. S. P. Chase, of Ohio, was chosen Secretary of the Treasury, and Simon Cameron Secretary of War, but he, in the following January, was succeeded in office by Edwin M. Stanton. The secretaryship of the Navy was conferred on Gideon Welles. In his inaugural address and first official papers President Lincoln indicated the policy of the new administration by his purpose to repossess the forts, arsenals and public property which had been seized by the Southern authorities. It was with this purpose that the first military preparations were made. In the meantime, on the 12th of March, an effort was made by commissioners of the seceded States to obtain from the United States Government a recognition of their independence, but their attempt met with failure. The Government then made a second movement to reinforce the garrison of Fort Sumter, and with that came the actual beginning of civil war.

Major Robert Anderson held the defenses of Charleston Harbor with a force of only seventy-nine men. He therefore deemed it prudent to abandon Fort Moultrie on account of the weakness of his garrison, and enter Fort Sumter. The Confederates had erected powerful batteries about the harbor, and their volunteers poured into the city. As soon as it was known by the Southen authorities that the Federal Government would

reinforce the forts, they determined to prevent the movement, by compelling the surrender of Major Anderson. Hence, on April 11, General Beauregard, the Confederate commander of Charleston, sent a flag to Fort Sumter demanding an evacuation. Major Anderson informed him in reply that he would defend the American flag, and hold the fortress. Accordingly, the next morning the first gun was fired from a Confederate battery, and, after a terrific bombardment of thirty-four hours' duration, the fort was set on fire, reduced to ruins, and forced to surrender.

Three days after the destruction of Fort Sumter, Mr. Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand volunteers to serve for three months, to exterminate the secession movement. Virginia seceded from the Union two days later. Arkansas seceded on May 6th, and North Carolina followed on the 20th of the same month. In Tennessee there was a strong feeling against disunion, and it was not until June 8th that a secession ordinance could be adopted. The movement in Missouri resulted in civil war, whilst in Kentucky the authorities assumed a neutral position. The people of Maryland divided into hostile factions.

Massachusetts volunteers were forwarded for the defense of the Union on the 19th of April, but as they were passing through Baltimore, they were attacked by the citizens and three men killed. Thus the first blood of the war was shed on Maryland soil. Already a body of Confederate soldiers had captured the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and, on April 20th, the Confederates secured possession of the great Navy Yard at Norfolk, Virginia. The captured property now in Confederate hands amounted to ten millions of dollars. Washington city was excited, from the fact that it was in danger of being captured, pillaged and destroyed by fire. Another call for eighty-three thousand soldiers was made by President Lincoln on the 3d of May, to serve for a term of three years or during the war. The venerable General Winfield Scott was made commander-in-chief of the Union army. The Southern ports were blockaded by war ships. There was boundless

activity and enthusiasm in the Southern States. The Confederate Congress adjourned from Montgomery to convene on the 20th of July at Richmond. Jefferson Davis and the officers of his Cabinet had assembled there to direct the affairs of the Confederate Government. Such was the position of the two opposing powers early in June, 1861. An examination into the causes which produced the great Civil War is now appropriate.

The most general and original cause of the Civil War in the United States was that the people of the North and South each placed a different construction upon the National Constitution. A difference of opinion had existed always as to how the Constitution was to be understood. The relation between the States and the General Government was the question at issue. One party held that the National Constitution is a compact between sovereign States, and for certain reasons the Union may be dissolved; that the sovereignty of the nation is lodged in individual States and not in the Central Government; that Congress can exercise no other than delegated powers, that a State, feeling aggrieved, may annul an Act of Congress; that the highest allegiance of the citizen is to his own State, and afterwards to the general Government, and that acts of nullification and disunion are justifiable, honorable and revolutionary. This was the view held in the Southern States. In the Northern States the other party held that under the Constitution the Union of the States cannot be dissolved, that the power of the nation is vested in the Central Government; that the States are subordinate; that the Acts of Congress, until they are repealed or decided unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States, are binding on the States; that the highest allegiance of the citizen is due the general Government and not to his own State, and that all attempts at nullification and disunion are in their nature disloyal and treasonable.

Hence, from the preceding views, arose an issue the most terrible that ever perplexed a Nation. It struck right into the vitals of our Government. It threatened to undo the whole Civil structure of the United States, with each renewal of the

agitation. For many years the parties who combatted about the meaning of the Constitution, were scattered in various portions of the country. The doctrine of State Sovereignty was most advocated in the New England States, in the earlier history of the country, but the position of the parties changed with the rise of the tariff question. Since the tariff (a Congressional measure), favored the Eastern States, at the expense of the South, it came to pass, naturally, that the people of the South took up the doctrine of State Rights. Hence it happened that as early as 1831, the right of nullifying an act of Congress was openly advocated in South Carolina, and thus it happened that the belief in State sovereignty became more prevalent in the South than in the North. Thus were two powerful sectional parties produced and brought into actual conflict.

Another general cause of the Civil War, was the different system of labor in the South and in the North. In the South the laborers were bondmen, property, slaves, whilst in the North they were recognized as freemen, citizens and voters. The Northern theory was, that both capital and labor are free, but in the South it was held that the capital of a country should own the labor. All the colonies had been slave-holding in the beginning, but in the Eastern and Middle States the system of slave labor was gradually abolished, because it was unprofitable. In the Northwestern Territory, out of which was formed five great States, slavery was excluded by the original compact under which that Territory was organized. A dividing line was thus drawn through the Union from East to West. Therefore, it became evident that whenever the question of slavery was agitated, a sectional division would arise between the parties, and that war and disunion would be threatened. The danger arising from this source was increased, and the strife between the sections intensified by several minor causes.

In 1793, through the invention of Mr. Whitney of Massachusetts, cotton became the most profitable of all the Southern staples. Before this invention, so slow and tedious was the

process of separating the seed from the fibre, that the production of upland cotton was almost without profit. The industry of the States that grew cotton was paralyzed by the time employed in preparing the product for market. Mr. Whitney removed the difficulty by inventing a gin which astonished the beholder, on account of its quick and excellent work, and cotton became the most profitable staple. It caused a revolution in this industry of the South. Before the Civil War, it was estimated that the cotton gin had added a billion of dollars to the resources of the Southern States. Nearly all the cotton in the world was produced there. According to the increase in the value of cotton, slave labor became important, slaves valuable, and slavery a deep-rooted, permanent institution.

From this time, henceforth, it was feared that the question of slavery would so embarrass the politics of the country as to cause a dissolution of the Union. This danger was fully shown in the Missouri agitation of 1820. A threat of disunion was made in the North, because it was proposed to enlarge the bounds of slavery. And on account of the proposed rejection of Missouri as a slave-holding State, similar threats were made in the South. At the time of the enactment of the Missouri Compromise, Mr. Clay and his colleagues wished to save the Union by extirpating the slavery question from American politics, but in this their success was limited to a short period, and was immediately followed by the Nullification Acts of South Carolina.

These acts hinged upon the institution of slavery, and the profits derived from cotton. The Eastern States had given themselves largely to manufacturing, while the staple production of the Southern States was cotton. It was, therefore, contended that tariff legislation favored manufacturers at the expense of producers. By annulling these laws, Mr. Calhoun of South Carolina, proposed to remedy the matter, but failing in his measures, another compromise was found necessary in order to allay the animosities which had been engendered.

A further enlargement of the domain of slavery, in the annexation of Texas, led to a renewal of the agitation. The

Mexican war followed, and was opposed by many, not so much on account of the injustice of the conflict, but through a fear that new territory would be acquired by the United States, and slavery thereby extended. The discussion led to the passage of the "Omnibus Bill," which, for a brief period, abated the excitement.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed in 1854. Through the passage of this bill the Missouri Compromise was repealed and the controversy relating to slavery re-opened. At the same time the civilization and character of the Northern and Southern people had become very different. In wealth, population, and in schools the North had far outgrown the South. In the race for territorial acquisitions the North had gained an advantage. Owing to the division of the Democratic party in 1860, Mr. Lincoln was made President by the votes of the Northern States. His election to the office of the Presidency maddened and excited the people of the South, as they regarded the new President as chosen regardless to their welfare and hostile to their interests.

The want of intercourse between the people of the North and the South was another cause for the Civil War. There was but little travel or interchange of opinion between the people of the two sections. The main lines of travel extended from the East to the West, and emigration flowed in the same channel. Consequently, the people, without intending it, became suspicious, jealous, and estranged, and each misjudged the motives of the other. They accused each other of ill-will and dishonesty. In short, before the outbreak of the war, matters had gravitated to such a point that the people of the North and South regarded each other almost as distinct nationalities.

Still another cause was found in the publication of books and newspapers of a sectional character. For twenty years preceding the war, books and papers were published in the North and South, the popularity of which depended principally on the hatred and ill-feelings existing between the two localities. Such publications teemed with false statements and ridicule. The language and belief, manners and customs of one

section were held up to the scorn and contempt of the people of the other. The minds of all classes were thus prejudiced and misdirected, especially the young. The belief was maintained in the North that the South was given up to ignorance, barbarism and inhumanity; while in the South the opinion prevailed that the people of the North were a race of selfish, cold-blooded, mean, cowardly, meddlesome Yankees.

The evil influence of tricky politicians may be named as another cause to produce war. It is the misfortune of governments that they may at times fall under the leadership of designing men. In our own country the demagogue has enjoyed special privileges to produce mischief, and the people have suffered accordingly. American patriotism and statesmanship sank to a low ebb from 1850 to 1860. Scheming and ambitious men had come to the front, and proclaimed themselves the leaders of public opinion by controlling the political parties. The welfare and peace of the country were put aside as of no value, as their purposes were wholly selfish. In order to gain power and keep it, many unprincipled men in the South were anxious to destroy the Union, while the fanatics of the North were willing to abuse the Union in order to accomplish their own wicked purposes.

In connection with all the foregoing causes was a public opinion developed in the North against the institution of slavery itself. The belief began to prevail that slavery was cruel and wrong, and it ought to be destroyed; the conscience of the Nation was aroused. Although this opinion was feeble at the beginning of the war, it developed rapidly, and had much to do in deciding the final character of the conflict. Such, principally were the causes that brought on the Civil War, one of the most terrible and bloody strifes of modern times.

Thus in the beginning of the year 1861, the government of the United States was involved in a terrible struggle for its own preservation. An army of Volunteers was brought into camp at Washington City, and on the 24th of May was advanced across the Potomac river, to Alexandria, Virginia, and constituted the first general movement of the war. General B. F.

Butler at this time held Fortress Monroe with a force of twelve thousand men. General Magruder, the Confederate commander, was stationed in that vicinity, at Bethel Church, with a detachment of Southern troops. On the 10th of June, a body of Union troops was sent to dislodge them, but was defeated with considerable loss.

The Union army under General T. A. Morris moved forward from Parkersburg to Grafton, West Virginia, in the latter part of May. He met and defeated a force of Confederates on the 3d of June at Philippi. General George B. McClellan now took the command and on the 11th of July defeated the Southern troops at Rich Mountain. The Confederate commander, General Garnett, retreated to Carrick's Ford, on Cheat river, where he was again defeated and himself killed. General Floyd, commanding a detachment of Confederate troops at Carmfex Ferry, on Gauley river, was attacked on August the 10th, by General William S. Rosecrans, and forced to retreat, and on September the 14th the Confederates under General Robert E. Lee were defeated in a battle at Cheat Mountain.

General Robert Patterson marched against Harper's Ferry, early in June. On the 11th of the same month, Colonel Lewis Wallace, commanding a division of Union troops, made a successful attack upon the Confederates at Romney. Patterson then crossed the Potomac and drove the Southern army back to Winchester. Up to this time the engagements had been only of a trivial character. The time had now come for the first great battle of the war.

CHAPTER XV.

BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

"But now the trumpet, terrible from far,
In shrilled clangour animates the war;
Confederate drums in fuller concert beat,
And echoing hills the loud alarm repeat."

IT was Sunday, July 21, 1861, that the memorable battle of Bull Run, near Manassas Railway Station, Virginia, the most decisive and desperate which had yet occurred on the the American Continent, took place. The Union Army, during the preceding day and night, reposed at Centerville, about seven miles East from the scene of conflict. The Union Army was placed under the command of General Irwin McDowell, an officer who had received a military education at West Point, had distinguished himself during the Mexican war, had been rapidly promoted from rank to rank, had invariably conducted himself with gallantry and heroism, and who was worthy of the important trust which was on this occasion conferred upon him.

The plan of attack devised by General McDowell, and which he proposed to execute, was in the opinion of those most competent to judge, an excellent one. The Union Army was separated into three divisions, which were ordered to advance to the position of the enemy by three different routes. Two of these movements were to be actual assaults; the third, however, to be a feint for the purpose of distracting the attention of the Confederates. The three divisions of the Union Army were commanded by Generals Tyler, Hunter and Heintzelman. General Tyler's division comprised the first and second Ohio, and the second New York regiments under General Schenck, the sixty-ninth, seventy-ninth and thirteenth of New York, with the second Wisconsin regiment. Three efficient batteries accompanied them, those of Carlisle, Ayres and Rickett. This

embraced Tyler's command, and was directed to march forward by the Washington road, and to cross Bull Run a mile and a half to the right. General Hunter's division on the extreme right, consisted of the eighth and fourteenth New York regiments, a battalion of the second, third and eighth regular infantry, a number of artillery, the first and second Ohio, the seventy-first New York, two New Hampshire regiments, and the powerful Rhode Island battery. This division of the Union Army formed General Hunter's command, and was instructed to move forward on the second road. General Heintzelman's division was made up of the fourth and fifth Massachusetts and the first Minnesota regiments, the second, fourth and fifth Maine, and the second Vermont regiments, supported by cavalry and artillery, and were directed to take the third route. General Hunter's orders were to pass a small stream called Cub Run, to turn to the right, then to the North, to pass the upper ford of Bull Run, then marching Southward, to attack the enemy in the rear. General Heintzelman was directed to cross Bull Run at the lower ford, and then attack the Confederates, when they were being driven before the advancing lines of Hunter. A reserve of six thousand Union troops under General Miles, was posted at Centerville. The whole number of Union troops who marched to the attack of the Confederates at Bull Run is estimated at about twenty-three thousand. The duty assigned to Hunter and Heintzelman was, to drive the enemy from the right and from the rear upon the force of General Tyler on the left, so that hemmed in between the three bodies, their defeat might be more certainly and efficiently accomplished.

General McDowell had at first intended to commence the march from Centerville on Saturday afternoon, July 20, and orders had actually been given to that effect. But it was discovered at the moment of starting that a deficiency of heavy ammunition existed, and that a large supply must at once be obtained from Fairfax. This process rendered a short delay necessary, and then it was determined to postpone the advance until the following day. Accordingly at half past two o'clock

on Sunday morning, the command was given to strike the tents and to commence the march.

Soon the great army began to move forward. The scene which was then presented to the view of an observer was one of imposing magnificence, and of solemn martial splendor. The moon shone brightly and serenely in the distant heavens, which were spangled with myriads of sparkling gems, while the vast array, swarming over many a hill and vale, hurried forward with impetuous tread toward a field soon to become reddened with human blood. The mellow light of night's golden luminary, and the glittering stars, served only to add the charm of a mystic and mysterious grandeur to the spectacle. The sacred silence of the Sabbath morn was broken by the rumbling sound of the artillery, by the confused tread of horses and of men, intermingled with the occasional echo of the stern word of command, or the gladsome voices of laughter and song. General McDowell and his staff accompanied the central column of General Tyler's command.

At length the clearer light of the early dawn spread over the face of the earth. Then, after a short interval, the sun appeared in all his glory in the rosy East, and as he commenced to mount the azure heavens, the head of General Tyler's column reached the eminence from which the first distant view of the position of the enemy could be obtained. Seldom had a fairer, calmer or lovelier scene been presented to the charmed eye of the enthusiastic admirer of nature, than that which the wide sweep of country before them exhibited, soon to be torn and riven by the impetuous rush of infantry and cavalry, by the terrific discharges of the artillery; soon to be covered with human gore, and with the bleeding bodies of the dying and the dead.

It was half-past five o'clock in the morning, when the head of General Tyler's division reached a position favorable for commencing the attack. The enemy could be seen from that position busily forming their lines in front. Skirmishers were immediately thrown forward, who soon encountered the Rebel pickets and exchanged shots with them. A ponderous thirty-

two pound rifled cannon was then advanced upon the road, and a number of shells were thrown into their ranks. To this salute they made no reply, and General Tyler ordered his division to move forward, so as to be in nearer contact with the enemy, who seemed to have concealed the principal portion of their numbers behind the woods and the rolling hills. They had, in fact, taken their position, in great part, in the forest on the right and left, and had posted their artillery and masked their guns behind the groves which were scattered over the intervening country.

The second Ohio and the second New York regiments were then ordered by General Tyler to advance and attack the enemy in their concealed position. They obeyed, and soon demonstrated the fact that they had posted themselves in such a manner as to entice our men forward, that they might be more completely within the range of their batteries. So heavy an attack was now opened upon them from cannon which were almost invisible, and which seemed to pour forth a deadly deluge from fiery mouths opening upon the very surface of the earth, that General Schenck at length gave the order to retire from the unequal contest. But, at the same moment, Carlisle's battery was ordered forward to respond to the masked artillery. His great guns replied with terrible effect. In half an hour the concealed cannon of the enemy at this point were completely silenced.

While these events were progressing in the front of the enemy's main position, the divisions of Hunter and of Heintzel man were operating on the extreme right, so as to reach the flank and rear of Beauregard's army. The circuit which they made was an extensive one of some miles; the march was difficult, and it was half-past ten before they reached the presence of the enemy. The latter were posted in a strong position, beyond Ludley Springs. General Hunter at once attacked them with the fourteenth New York, the Rhode Island regiment, commanded by Burnside, the second New Hampshire and the New York seventy-first. As these troops advanced, the Confederates poured upon them a destructive deluge of shot

and shell, but they continued to advance with firmness and unflinching heroism. This was the northern extremity of the battle-ground, and some of the fiercest fighting of that bloody day took place in this part of the engagement. The gallant sixty-ninth rushed forward to the encounter with yells of mingled fury and exultation. They formed the van of a column which General Tyler had sent forward to co-operate with Hunter's division in surrounding the foe, and they fell upon the enemy with that combination of gallantry and ferocity which have characterized the patriot soldier in every country on the globe.

These operations were but preliminary to the grand and chief contest of the day. The cannonading between the two armies now became general. All the guns of the Confederates were by this time brought into play, and nearly all the Union forces except the reserves had come into action. The battle field, the range of the artillery, and the various operations of the assailants and defendants, extended over an area of about five miles. The discharges of artillery were very continuous, the reverberation was deafening, the intensity and effect of the battle were terrific. The sullen roar of the guns was heard at Centerville, at Fairfax, at Alexandria; it was even perceptible at Washington. The widely spread and still extending scene of conflict over the hills, the valleys and the ravines of Manassas and Bull Run, was now enveloped in countless up-rolling volumes of smoke; and only at intervals, by the friendly aid of fitful gusts of the wind, could a glimpse be obtained of the exact position and operations of the opposing armies. Thus far, however, it was evident that all had gone well with the Union army. Hunter had succeeded in turning the flank of the enemy, and masses of fugitive Mississippians, retreating before his advancing columns, gave evidence that the tide of victory was his. But as the Union troops pressed forward in pursuit, new batteries, till then concealed in the rear, opened their deadly mouths upon them, hurling death into their serried ranks. The Confederates fought here indeed with the utmost desperation. At times a furious charge from

their retiring columns would recover for a moment the lost advantage; but it would be only to suffer in return a new reverse, and to commence a new retreat. Then again fresh batteries, skillfully masked, would open upon the advancing Federals, inflicting upon them additional penalties for their success. But the general sweep of the contest up to this moment was favorably to the Union army. Hunter and Heintzelman were successively progressing toward a junction with Tyler, and the arc of a grand and overwhelming circle of destruction and defeat was being skillfully drawn around the Confederate army, and now cheer after cheer rose upon the air, which were wafted by the breeze over the field from one portion of the exultant and victorious troops to another.

At half past twelve, it may with truth be asserted that, in all essential respects a decisive advantage had been gained by the Union Army, Hunter and Heintzelman, had penetrated far into the position of the enemy. On the heights on the enemy's left, regiment after regiment of the foe had been driven in by the heroic charges of our troops. Fresh regiments could be discovered by the distant observer, hastening up to the support of those which were wavering; and then after a desperate combat, the whole defeated mass could be seen to recoil and plunge into a general retreat. The Union troops made such impetuous assaults, that the personal presence and frantic efforts of Beauregard himself could not resist them. Whole regiments of Confederates were here cut to pieces, and the torn and scattered fragments, were hurled back in dreadful panic and disorder. But still such was the marvelous ability with which Beauregard had fortified his position that fresh triumphs and fresh pursuits on the part of the Union troops only conducted them into the jaws of additional batteries, which had been posted and concealed in endless succession up to the very centre of his position at Bull Run; so that it seemed as if Satanic skill and malignity had contrived an inevitable ruin for the Unionists. Nothwithstanding all this the deadly toils were gradually drawing closer around the enemy. His desperate efforts were becoming weaker and weaker. He had abandoned all his

breastworks in this portion of the field except one, and even this was stormed later in the day by several regiments which were the last to abandon the contest and join the subsequent retreat of the Union army.

Such was the condition of the opposing armies, on the sanguinary battlefield of Bull Run up to one o'clock on that dreadful day. At this hour the fire of the enemy had become languid. All over the blood stained hills and plains their remaining guns responded slowly and feebly. At two o'clock the foe seemed extremely disheartened and confused. Three times had they been dislodged from a locality known as "a hill with a house on it" which was one of the strongest positions on the field. At that point the enemy was commanded by General Beauregard in person; and his troops had been driven a mile and a half from the fiercely contested point, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of that brave commander. This discomfiture, which had been accomplished by the regiments under Heintzelman, added still more to the desperate nature of the situation of the Confederates. And yet, after all this heroism and this success, when victory seemed inevitable, to the Union arms, when the exhausted host of the Confederate chiefs appeared to be practically defeated, the final issue was completely reversed and one of the most disgraceful retreats which is inscribed on the historic page, ensued. How was this unexpected and remarkable catastrophe produced?

It was about three o'clock when large bodies of troops were observed by the Union commanders, darkening the hill tops in the furthest distance opposite the centre of the battle field. Soon they were seen hastening to join in the conflict; and their Southern flags waving in the breeze, and the freshness and vigor of their movements, clearly proved that they were reinforcements, which had endured nothing of the heat, the exhaustion or the agony of the long struggle. They were in fact four regiments of General Johnston's division, as stated by the "Richmond Dispatch", under command of General Kirby Smith, who having made good their escape from Winchester, had arrived by railroad at Manassas Junction, and were now

hastening to the field of battle to rescue the Confederate army from destruction. This terrible apparition, at such a time and in such a juncture, might well have appalled the stoutest heart; yet, at the moment of its occurrence, no thought of flight existed, and additional troops were ordered forward to confront the advancing enemies. Among these were three Connecticut regiments, the fourth of Maine and the first Tyler Brigade.

Notwithstanding the prodigious exertions which the Union army had already made during the protracted contest, they approached their new foes with the utmost heroism. A terrible onslaught ensued between them. One battery was taken eight times, and eight times lost. Meanwhile fresh accessions to the Confederate forces were arriving on successive trains. They deployed upon the field of battle, and were gradually and stealthily winding themselves around the left of the Union army, with the evident purpose of surrounding them and cutting off their retreat. Nevertheless, an hour of the most desperate fighting ensued, during which prodigies of valor were performed by the Union troops. Still, however, the deluge of fresh reinforcements to the enemy continued to pour down upon the field. The left of the Union army was becoming slowly surrounded and their rear attained. The fresh troops of the Confederates rushed upon their opponents, in successive tides, with sanguinary fury. One regiment of Mississippians, armed with immense bowie knives, fell upon the Union troops with the yells of maniacs and the ferocity of tigers. Then it was that, for the first time during the long and desperate conflict, the Union soldiers began to exhibit confusion and dismay, and the first indication of a panic commenced to appear. A vast body of Confederate black horse cavalry now came pouring out of the woods upon our left, attacked the troops which happened to be near them, and assailed a multitude of teamsters, who, without any orders to that effect, had moved their wagons forward with the general advance. The dreadful panic which had now arisen spread rapidly from regiment to regiment. Masses of men, in the utmost disorder, rushed down from the distant hills in full retreat. The flight became gen-

eral, and then ensued that marvelous and disgraceful stampede from Bull Run, which will always remain one of the chief wonders and scandals of American history.

No reasonable person will condemn the Union Army at Bull Run for not maintaining the advantage they had gained, or even for retreating. A complete defeat, under such circumstances, was excusable. The crime which cannot be palliated or forgiven, is that the flight should have been continued so long and so far; that such extreme disorder and frantic fear, such groundless despair and such excesses of weakness, so total an oblivion of all shame, and such a disregard of the dignity of manhood, should have characterized the conduct of soldiers who had exhibited such admirable heroism and endurance so shortly before.

Regiment after regiment now came rushing along the road and over the fields towards Centerville. But soon all distinctions of regiments and companies, of infantry, cavalry and artillery were lost. The confusion of Babel was synthetic order and perfect symmetry when compared with the chaotic uproar which now prevailed. Many of the men threw away their guns and knapsacks, lest they might be impeded in their escape. The heavy guns were abandoned, the traces cut, and the horses, covered with fugitives clinging to them on all sides, were spurred forward in the flight. Soon the way of flight became choked with private conveyances, with terrified civilians, with broken gun carriages, all tumbling, crashing and rolling against each other, wounded horses plunged to and fro in the midst of the demented mass of human beings. Many were crushed to death. Many threw themselves on the earth, being either wounded, or exhausted and unable to continue their flight. A few officers indeed endeavored to stem the tide and stop the panic, but their efforts were utterly fruitless. Thus the tumultuous sweep of fugitive wretches continued to roll onward without the least pause or abatement, until they reached Centerville. There the presence of General Miles, and especially Blenker's brigade, tended to diminish the disorder to some extent. But this effect was only partial. The great mass continued to hurry forward

to Fairfax, to Alexandria, and even to Washington, where they arrived during the ensuing night and day. The dead and wounded of the Union Army were left on the battlefield. Much greater losses of artillery and ammunition occurred during the flight than during the engagement. No officer eminent for ability on the Union side had fallen. The loss of the Confederate Army in this particular was much greater than that of their opponents. The only pursuit attempted by the victorious and astonished Confederates, was made with their cavalry, and the assaults of these were effectually terminated at Centerville by the vigorous charges and deadly aim of Blenker's rifle brigade. That officer even recovered some of the guns which had been abandoned during the flight.

Thus ended the battle, the defeat and the rout of Bull Run. At first the loss on the Union side was supposed to be much greater than actually proved to be the case, as was subsequently demonstrated by the official return made by General McDowell to the Government. According to that return, the Union army lost 481 killed, 1,011 wounded, 1,216 missing. The missing including the prisoners taken by the enemy, and those, who having escaped from the slaughter, never returned to the service. The number of artillery lost, was seventeen rifled cannon, eight small-bore guns, 2,500 muskets, and thirty boxes of old firearms. But, though the Confederates had obtained a victory, there never was an instance in which victors more signally failed to improve their advantages. One of the highest arts of a military commander, is the art of following up effectually the opportunities which the favor of fortune may have bestowed upon him; and more ability, is shown by some generals, in the skill with which they turned a triumph to good account, than they exhibited in gaining it. Many other generals have shown higher genius in the success with which they have averted the consequences of a defeat, than their successful opponents exhibited in gaining the victory. In the present case, it proved almost a barren triumph on the one side, and nearly a harmless repulse on the other. The Confederates might, in the midst of that overwhelming and dreadful panic, have

marched upon Washington, entered it, dispersed or captured the Federal Government, and thus have struck a blow as deadly and decisive as that which Hannibal might have inflicted, if, immediately after the terrible slaughter of Cannæ, he had thundered with his legions at the gates of Rome, and had taken possession of the Eternal City. But, like Hannibal, Beauregard neglected to improve the propitious moment, and, that moment being once lost in the vicissitudes of Nations, it never returns again.

Meanwhile, on the 20th of July, the new Confederate Government was organized at Richmond, Virginia. Jefferson Davis, the President, was a man of wide experience in the affairs of state, and considerable reputation as a soldier. He had served in both houses of the National Congress, and as a member of Pierce's Cabinet. His decision of character and advocacy of State rights, had made him a national leader of the South.

In Missouri, the next military movements took place. The Convention, previously called by Governor Jackson, in the month of March, had refused to pass an Ordinance of Secession, but those in favor of disunion were numerous and powerful, and the State became a battle field. Both Confederate and Union camps were organized. The Confederates captured the United States arsenal at Liberty, and thereby obtained a supply of arms and ammunition. By the formation of Camp Jackson, near Saint Louis, the arsenal in that city was endangered, but by the vigilance of the brave Captain Lyon, the arms and stores were sent to Springfield.

In order to secure control of the lead mines in the Southwest part of the State, the Confederates now hurried up troops from Arkansas and Texas. On the 17th of June, Lyon defeated Governor Jackson at Booneville, and on the 5th of July, the Unionists, led by Colonel Franz Sigel, were again successful in a fight at Carthage. On the 10th of August, a bloody battle was fought at Wilson's Creek, near Springfield. General Lyon made a daring attack on the Confederates under Generals McCulloh and Price. The Union army at first

gained the field, but General Lyon, their brave and noble commander, was killed and his men retreated.

General Price now pressed northward to Lexington, which was defended by 2,600 Union troops under command of Colonel Mulligan. A stubborn defense was made but Mulligan was obliged to capitulate. Lexington was retaken by the Union army on October 16th, and General John C. Fremont followed the retreating Confederates as far as Springfield, when he was superseded by General Hunter. The latter retreated to St. Louis, and Price fell back towards Arkansas.

Notwithstanding that Kentucky had assumed a neutral position, the Confederates under General Polk entered the State and captured the town of Columbus. The Confederates also gathered in force at Belmont on the opposite bank of the Mississippi. Colonel U. S. Grant with 10,000 Illinois troops was now sent into Missouri. On the 7th of November, he made a successful attack on the enemy's camp at Belmont, but was afterward obliged to retreat.

After the Union defeat at Bull Run troops were rapidly hurried to Washington. General Scott, who was now too aged for active duty, retired from the service, and was succeeded by General George B. McClellan, who took command of the Army of the Potomac. By October his forces had increased to 150,000 men. On the 21st of that month, 2,000 troops were thrown across the Potomac at Ball's Bluff. Without proper support the Federals were attacked by a force of Confederates under General Evans, driven to the river, their leader, Colonel Baker, killed, and the force routed with a loss of 800 men. In the summer of 1861, a naval expedition, commanded by Commodore Stringham and General Butler, proceeded to the North Carolina coast, and, on the 29th of August, captured the forts at Hatteras inlet. On the 7th of November an armament under Commodore Dupont and General Thomas W. Sherman, reached Port Royal, and captured Forts Walker and Beauregard. The blockade became so vigorous that communication between the seceded States and foreign nations was cut off.

In this juncture of affairs a serious international difficulty arose with the government of Great Britain.

The Confederate government had appointed James M. Mason and John Slidell as ambassadors to France and England. The envoys escaping from Charleston, reached Havana in safety. At that port they took passage on the British steamer Trent for Europe. On the 8th of November, the vessel was overtaken by the United States frigate San Jacinto, commanded by Captain Wilkes. The Trent was hailed and boarded, the two ambassadors were seized, transferred to the San Jacinto and conveyed to Boston. When the Trent reached England and that government became informed of the stopping of her vessel on the high seas, the whole kingdom burst out in a blaze of wrath.

At first the United States government was disposed to defend Captain Wilkes' action. Had such a course been taken war between Great Britain and the American government would have been inevitable. The country was saved from the peril by the diplomacy of William H. Seward, the Secretary of State. When the English government demanded reparation for the insult and the liberation of the prisoners, Mr. Seward, replied in a mild, cautious, and very able paper. It was conceded by the government at Washington that the seizure of Mason and Slidell was not justifiable according to the law of nations. An apology was made for the wrong done, the Confederate ambassadors were liberated, put on board a vessel, and sent to their destination. So ended the first year of the Civil War.

The Union forces had now increased to about 450,000 men. Of these nearly 200,000, under General McClellan, were encamped near Washington. Another Army, commanded by General Don C. Buell, was stationed at Louisville, Kentucky. On the 9th of January, Colonel Humphrey Marshall, commanding a force of Confederates on Big Sandy River, was defeated by a body of Unionists, led by Colonel James A. Garfield. Ten days later the important battle of Mill Spring, Kentucky, was fought. The Confederates under Generals Crittenden and Zollicoffer, were severely defeated by the forces of General George H. Thomas. Zollicoffer was killed in the battle.

At the beginning of the year the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson, on the Tennessee and the Cumberland rivers, was planned by General Halleck. Commodore Foote was sent up the Tennessee with a fleet of gunboats and General Grant was ordered to move forward against Fort Henry. Before the land forces reached that place, the flotilla compelled the evacuation of the fort, the Confederates escaping to Donelson. The Federal gunboats now dropped down the Tennessee and then ascended the Cumberland. Grant pressed on from Fort Henry and began the seige of Fort Donelson. The place was defended by ten thousand Confederates under General Buckner. Grant's forces numbered nearly thirty thousand. On the 16th of February, Buckner was obliged to surrender. His army became prisoners of war, and all the magazines, stores and guns of the fort fell into the hands of the Federals.

General Grant now proceeded to Pittsburg Landing, on the Tennessee, where a camp was established at Shiloh church, near the river, and here on the fair Sunday morning of April the 6th, 1862, occurred one of the most dreadful and bloody battles of modern times.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

"Oh, bravely came we off,
When with a volley of our final shot,
After such bloody toil we bid good night."

THE severe losses which the Confederates had incurred in the Southwest, seemed only to have rendered them more determined; and their ablest Generals gradually concentrated their most efficient troops near Corinth. At that place, General Beauregard, the hero of Bull Run, commanded, assisted by Albert Sidney Johnson, Breckinridge and other Confederate officers of high rank. Their purpose was to intercept the victorious march of the Union troops who had won the battles at Forts Henry and Donelson, and to prevent their intended advance towards Memphis. For some days General Grant had been transferring his forces to Savannah, Tennessee, and thence across the river to Pittsburg Landing. It was on the 4th of April that about thirty-five thousand of these had passed over, and had taken their position at the distance of several miles from the shore. They were awaiting the arrival of the remainder of the army, under General Buell, containing about an equal number of men, who should have already been on the spot, in accordance with the plans of General Grant. While this unfortunate delay existed, and the separation of the Union army into two divisions, which necessarily resulted from it, continued, the Confederate Generals conceived the idea of making a sudden attack. Their time was admirably chosen. They executed their purpose with superior skill and fortitude; and the great but indecisive battle of Shiloh was the result.

The Union forces which had crossed the river, were posted westward from Pittsburg Landing in a curved line along the banks, and extended a distance of three and a half miles, the centre facing the road to Corinth. They were commanded

by Generals Prentiss, Sherman, Hurlbut and McClernand. As Corinth was a position admirably adapted for defense, it was not suspected that the enemy would abandon the advantages it afforded and venture on an attack. Hence it must be admitted that their attack was in a great measure unexpected. They marched out of Corinth on Saturday, April 5, seventy thousand in number, in three grand divisions. Sidney Johnson was in command of the centre, Generals Bragg and Beauregard the two wings, whilst Hardee, Polk, Breckinridge and Cheatham held inferior positions. Their plan of attack was, to assault the centre of the Union Army, consisting of the divisions of Prentiss and McClernand, penetrate them and then assail each of the wings on the front and flank. Having thus divided and overpowered the Union Army, their purpose was to compel them to surrender, or drive them into the Tennessee river, and thus complete either the capture or the ruin of the whole.

During the night of Saturday their numerous forces lay at no very great distance from the Union encampments. Their proximity was not fully suspected. The division of General Prentiss at this time was in the extreme front of the other divisions of the Union Army. Upon his command, therefore, fell the full force of this most terrible battle, all of that memorable Sunday of April the 6th, 1862. The circumstances which led to the beginning of the battle of Shiloh are peculiar. For a night or two prior to the great fight, mules had been stealthily taken from some of the companies of the division of the Army under General Prentiss. These were supposed to have been taken by some of the bands of guerrillas, hovering at that time in front of the Union Army. Some of the men in his division desired to put a stop to these night depredations, pursue the raiders, and retake the animals. Accordingly, about daylight of April 6, 1862, a company of soldiers advanced forward into the timber fronting the Union Army, but after marching a few miles were checked by a sharp fire from a strong force of the enemy posted in front. The firing being heard distinctly at camp, several more companies were sent forward to their assistance, but before the troops reached the scene of the con-

fusion, they were joined by the first company, and all under a sharp fire from an advancing enemy, fell back under the protection of the main division. It was now evident that the little incident relative to the theft of the mules had precipitated the battle, and General Prentiss immediately prepared himself to resist the advance of the Confederate Army, which at this time was becoming general along the whole line. The gray mists of morning were then about ascending, and throwing a partial, hazy light over the scene, so soon to become the arena of one of the bloodiest struggles of modern times. Many of the officers had not yet risen. Many of the men were not yet armed, when the whole Union camp became aware that a vigorous attack had commenced upon some portion of their front. The twenty-fifth Missouri regiment, belonging to the division of General Prentiss, was the first to feel the assault of the approaching enemy, who were firing volleys of musketry as they advanced. Their cannon already in position and unlimbered were tossing shells into the heart of the Union encampment. During this process the Union Army was gradually arming and falling into line, but this was not accomplished until an advantage had been gained by the enemy.

The whole of General Sherman's division was the next to confront the Confederates in line of battle. It was now six o'clock. Sherman's troops withstood the shock for some time with heroism, but as Prentiss was being forced back, although fighting most desperately against superior numbers, Sherman also being overpowered by vast masses of Confederates, was compelled to give way. As they retreated the balls of the enemy ploughed through their living masses with fearful slaughter. The divisions of Generals Sherman and Buckland abandoned their camp equipage, and some of them retreated in disgraceful disorder. Several of the Ohio regiments, especially the fifty-third, commanded by Colonel Appler, fled without firing a single gun, and covered themselves with ignominy. In vain did General McClernand order forward a portion of his left, to support the scattering and fugitive troops of Buckland. In vain did General Sherman exert himself to stop the flight of

his own men, dashing bravely along the lines amid a hail storm of bullets. The advancing billows of the Confederate host overwhelmed everything before them; and while portions of the Union regiments occasionally paused a short period to stop the tide of the fugitives and pursuers, the great mass were driven in a tumultuous chaos towards the river.

By this time General Grant arrived on the field from Savannah, and immediately placed guards in the rear to stop the retreating soldiers. The temporary flight was thus terminated, the officers became reassured, and succeeded in bringing in their troops, many of whom had begun to waver, in order of battle. Then ensued a more regular, universal and desperate combat. Prentiss was now forced back from the centre towards a deep ravine through which passed an old road, with heavy timber on each side. At this juncture, General Grant rode up to General Prentiss and asked him if he could hold his position till evening. The brave General told him he would hold his post at all hazards. Grant, seeing the serious nature of the terrible conflict, rode back towards the river and at once commenced to strengthen a new position not far from its banks. The battle raged along the whole line, for the enemy had now all reached the scene of conflict, and every portion of both armies was brought into action. The roar of cannon, crash of musketry, and screaming of shells was deafening. The earth trembled as if in the throes of an earthquake, under their shock. The fiercest struggle was in the centre, extending from the line of Prentiss, to the troops who had taken General Sherman's position. A furious charge was made upon the fourteenth Ohio battery, and, after a long contest, it was captured by the enemy. A similar onslaught was made upon the fifth Ohio battery, which resulted in the capture of three of its guns. The left wing of the Union forces also encountered and resisted a ferocious assault. The Confederates, by a sudden dash, captured a part of the battery of Waterhouse, together with that of Beer. For nearly two hours, a lurid sheet of fire blazed between the two columns, hurling destruction into each other's ranks. Three different times the Union

troops, weakened by the deadly fire of the Mississippi riflemen, were compelled, slowly, to retire toward the river, and three times they regained the lost advantage. Dresser's battery of rifled guns, on two occasions, made the enemy recoil with fearful loss.

Such was the condition of affairs upon the sanguinary field of Shiloh up till three o'clock, at which time the combat raged with appalling fury. The brave Prentiss, faithful to his promise to General Grant, was now driven across the deep ravine, and had taken position on the opposite side of the country road intersecting the same. It formed, at this hour, the dividing line between the Union and Confederate forces. The very air seemed filled with sheets of flame from the flashes of fire from the guns of the opposing forces, and for a mile up and down the ravine, shifting smoke and sulphurous hail seemed to fill all space. This part of the field will always be known by those who were on that portion of the field, as the "Hornet's Nest," so deadly, desperate and terrible was the struggle at this point. The wide-spread scene of conflict was covered with a far ascending curtain of smoke, within which the rushing, advancing, receding masses of men might be dimly seen, plunged into the mortal struggles of the conflict. At one time the fire of the enemy appeared to be concentrated toward the centre. At another, it would expand and extend itself up and down the line to right and to left. By this time the ground was thickly covered with the dead, dying and wounded of both armies. Fierce bayonet charges had been made during the day by both sides. Thus, repeatedly, was the terrific spectacle exhibited during that long and desperate combat of a thousand men, sometimes five thousand, summoned by the sound of the bugle, forming into line, rushing forward with fixed bayonets, as if impelled by a single animating spirit, rending the air with their yells, sheets of flame darting forth from their advancing lines, then the shock of the collision, the reverberation of the blows, the clashing of steel, and, at last, the necessary recoil, as the one party or the other, possessing greater momentum and strength than their adversaries, re-

mained masters of the position. Then were heard the piercing shrieks of the wounded, the melancholy groans of the dying, the vociferous shouts of the victors. All this had frequently been enacted during the long progress of that day. For the most part the superiority of numbers which the Confederates possessed, generally gave them the advantage. As the sun was descending the western heavens, the Union army was gradually retiring towards the river, unable to resist with success the ponderous masses opposed to them. At about three o'clock P. M., the brave and heroic Prentiss, after defending the front most gallantly, according to his promise to General Grant, was surrounded by the enemy, and then near the terrible "Hornet's Nest," by a historic Black Jack tree, the white flag was unfurled to the victorious Confederates. Thus had the enemy gained full possession of the camp of Sherman, McClernand and Prentiss. The whole front line, except Stuart's brigade, had given away. To the last, the divisions of Wallace and Hurlbut made a heroic stand and maintained their positions. Hurlbut had been encamped at the end of the line nearest the river. His troops consisted chiefly of Kentucky, Indiana and Iowa regiments. Having open fields before them, they raked the approaching enemy with fearful effect. Here, in a clump of trees called the Peach Orchard, Albert Sidney Johnson, the gallant Confederate commander, was shot in the thigh and quickly bled to death. They held their position from ten in the forenoon, until half past three. No officers on the field deserved greater praise for their heroism and gallantry, than Generals Hurlbut and Prentiss. Their example and exertions served greatly to avert the horrors of an universal defeat, which impended over the army of the Union on that memorable day. Next in line to his brigade, was that of General Wallace, who commanded the troops which had formerly been under the orders of General C. F. Smith, when sickness prevented him from being present in this engagement. General Wallace entered into the conflict about ten o'clock. He and his men fought with the utmost resolution till half past three. Four separate times the Confederate gen-

erals attempted to turn them, by the most furious charges. Just as often their advancing masses were compelled to recoil and retreat with fearful losses. The powerful batteries from Missouri, commanded by Stone, Weber and Richardson, were admirably served, and greatly contributed to the partial success of the day, in this portion of the field. But when the general retreat began, and the whole line commenced to retire, they were compelled to yield, for it would have been madness to remain. As this division commenced to fall back, General Wallace was severely wounded. His soldiers were the last to give way, at that desperate moment when the Union line was driven back within half a mile of Pittsburg Landing, with victorious masses of the Confederates crowding within a thousand yards of their confused and retreating ranks.

And now the last terrible tragedy of this day seemed about to be consummated. The Confederates at length occupied all the camps of the Union army. The latter had now fallen back under cover of a new line of fortifications, skillfully erected during the day by command of General Grant. They were now pressed back as far as the nature of the ground would permit. The Tennessee river was but a short distance away, and in case of a continuance of the Confederate advance, and loss of the newly fortified position, there would be no other alternative but surrender or to perish beneath the tranquil and glancing waves of the river, for sufficient transports had not been provided to convey over even a small proportion of the multitude of the retreating army. Never had the fate of soldiers seemed more desperate, their ruin more inevitable. During the day General Buell had been repeatedly telegraphed to hasten his tardy re-inforcements, but he had as yet been unable to reach the battle field. Certain destruction thus appeared to impend over the Union army, when a sudden deliverance unexpectedly arose. The gunboats, Lexington and Tyler, having opportunely arrived from Savannah, were at that moment able to bring their guns to bear upon the victorious masses of Confederates, and having steamed up the mouth of Licking creek, they opened deadly fire upon their right wing.

Broadside after broadside of sixty-four pounders was discharged as rapidly as the most skillful gunnery could send their shells into the serried ranks of the enemy. At the same time the long wished for advance guard of Buell's army appeared on the high bluffs which lined the opposite sides of the river. Their presence at once inspired the Union troops, and shout after shout ascended to greet them. But no time was to be lost, and quickly several transports which had been tied along the opposite banks were loosened and filled with artillery and troops. But before they could arrive, Colonel Webster, the chief of General Grant's staff, had collected all the guns which remained untaken, had formed them into a semicircle bearing upon the Confederate advance, and had opened a formidable assault upon their line. These combined salutes, while they raised the courage of the Union forces, disheartened the foe. The death of their great Commander, Albert S. Johnson, had now become known, which misfortune added to their discouragement. Their commanders at length discovered that their successes for that day were ended; and that no further advantage could be gained. They therefore ceased to press forward, withdrew as far as the Union camps which they had taken, and prepared to renew the battle with more decisive results, as they hoped, on the ensuing day.

The night of Sunday was industriously employed in transporting the troops of General Buell across the river. As soon as the successive regiments arrived they proceeded to take their position in the Union lines. The gunboats continued their bombardment during the whole night. They soon made the position occupied by the centre and the right of the Confederates, at the close of Sunday, untenable, and compelled them to fall back from point to point, so that they evacuated more than half of the ground they had gained by the retreat of the Union army toward the river. This circumstance will account for the fact that the enemy made no assault during the night, as had been confidently expected, and it also prevented them from commencing the battle at daybreak on Monday.

During the hours of that memorable night, while a furious

tempest raged, and the rain descended in torrents, the Union commanders were busy in making preparations for resuming the contest. New dispositions had been made. Ammon's brigade was placed on the extreme left, that of Bruce in the centre, that of Hazen on the right of Nelson's division. At seven o'clock on Monday the action began, by a simultaneous advance on both sides; for both armies seemed equally eager for the combat. General Lewis Wallace opened the engagement by shelling the enemy opposed to him. He was answered by a powerful Confederate battery, and a duel between artillery ensued. The result here was, that a body of Union infantry having been sent across a ravine to attack the flank of this portion of the enemy's line, the guns of the latter were soon limbered up and hastily withdrawn. General Nelson at the same time attacked the enemy opposed to him. His large mass of troops renewed the contest in all its fury; the action soon became general along the whole line; and the rattle of small arms, and the louder, heavier tones of the artillery kept up the music without intermission over the far extended scene of conflict. The enemy attacked the Union centre and right with the utmost desperation. At half past ten the Union Army had regained nearly all the ground from which they had been driven the preceding day. At that moment the enemy concentrated their efforts to make a grand assault. Suddenly, and with much concert, their generals hurled their furious squadrons on the advancing Union troops. Stunned by the shock the latter reeled, and for a time gave way on the entire right. The ground then was fiercely contested, and the issue would have been doubtful, perhaps disastrous; but just at the critical moment General Buell arrived on that part of the field and assumed command. He soon comprehended the relative positions of the combatants, and ordered a forward double quick movement by brigades. The Confederate lines were then driven back for a quarter of a mile. Soon the deserted camps of the Union Army were reached, and reoccupied by their former owners. By half past two the entire right of the enemy was routed; they had lost all in that portion of the field which they had gained; the cap-

tured guns of the Union Army were retaken; and some additional trophies were wrested from the retreating enemy. In that part of the Union lines, where the brigades of Crittenden, McCook, Smith, Boyle were posted a contest of equal intensity took place. At one time the Union troops were overpowered and retreated. The day was recovered by a spirited cannonade poured into the Confederate masses, by the batteries Mendenhall and Bartlett. After a long contest here they also began to retire, and to leave the field in the hands of their antagonists. On the extreme right, where the gallant Hurlbut and McClernand commanded, the vicissitudes of the day were equally varied, to be terminated at last by a result equally honorable to the Union arms. Four times McClernand lost and regained the position which he occupied at the commencement of the engagement. The troops in the centre of the Union Army, commanded by General Sherman, overpowered by a terrific assault of artillery, in which Watson's Louisiana battery was remarkable for its prodigious effects, were compelled at one time to give way. But after a long struggle they recovered their advantage, aided by the efficient batteries of Thurber and Thompson. By four o'clock, an hour and a half later than the victory on the left, the enemy commenced to retire here also before Sherman's advancing lines. Then the retreat became general, and the whole Confederate Army, discouraged and essentially weakened by the immense, though futile struggles of the day, withdrew from the field in comparative order to Corinth. The Union Army then reoccupied their original camp, and took possession of almost every trophy which, on the preceding day, had fallen into the hands of the temporary victors.

But in justice to the enemy, weary and overweighted as they were, it must be said, the Confederates fought well; however, and it was not till four in the afternoon that they retreated, fighting still, and in good order, toward Corinth, whence they had set out. When the Confederates first attacked Grant was at Savannah, seven miles down the river. Hastening back he was on the field at the earliest possible moment, and did whatever could be done to withstand the tremendous force

of the Confederate advance. When Buell came upon the field toward night, the aspect of affairs so struck him that his first inquiry of Grant, was, what preparations he had made for retreat. "I have not despaired of whipping them yet," was the thoroughly characteristic reply. One account adds, that when Buell urged that a prudent general ought to provide for possibilities of defeat, and repeated his inquiry, Grant pointed to his transports and said: "Don't you see those boats?" "Yes," said Buell, "but they will not carry more than ten thousand and we have more than thirty thousand." "Well," returned Grant, "ten thousand are more than I mean to retreat with." An officer on the field of Shiloh describes how "throughout the battle, Grant rode to and fro on the front, smoking his inevitable cigar, with his usual stolidity and good fortune; horses and men were killed all around him, but he did not receive a scratch."

During the progress of this remarkable battle Generals Grant, Buell, Sherman, Prentiss, Nelson, the Wallaces, Hurlbut, McClernand and McCook greatly distinguished themselves. They were present in every portion of the field, and exhibited the utmost skill and coolness in every emergency. Very many of the inferior commanders were equally valiant and equally worthy of commendation. But it must also be admitted, that some of the subaltern officers disgraced themselves during the combat by their cowardice. General Grant was compelled to order a number of these under arrest on the battle field. The results of this great conflict were important, for if the Confederates had succeeded in destroying the Union army, as their leaders anticipated, it would have cast a shadow of gloom over the patriots of the North. The chief misfortune of the enemy, was the death of General A. S. Johnson. The loss in killed, wounded, and missing was more than ten thousand men on each side.

The chief honor in this battle will be ascribed by posterity to the two generals who were highest in command, Generals Grant and Buell.

After the Confederates evacuated Columbus, Kentucky,

they fortified Island number Ten, in the Mississippi, opposite the old town of New Madrid, Missouri. General Pope advanced against this place with a body of Western troops, while Commodore Foote descended the Mississippi river with his gunboats. Pope captured New Madrid, and for twenty-three days Island number Ten was besieged. On the 7th of April, the Confederates attempted to escape; but Pope had cut off the retreat, and the enemy numbering five thousand was captured. On the 6th of June, the City of Memphis was taken by the fleet of Commodore Davis.

Early in the year General Curtis pushed forward into Arkansas and took position at Pea Ridge, among the mountains. Here he was attacked on the 6th of March by twenty thousand Confederates and Indians, under Generals McCulloh, McIntosh and Pike. A hard fought battle ensued, lasting for two days. The Union troops won the fight, and two Confederate generals, McCulloh and McIntosh, were killed and their men compelled to retreat to Texas.

After the destruction of the Navy Yard at Norfolk, the Confederates had raised the frigate Merrimac, one of the sunken ships, and plated the sides with iron. The vessel was sent to attack the Union fleet at Fortress Monroe. She approached to where two valuable vessels, the Cumberland and Congress, lay. Soon her fatal character and mission became evident. She was recognized as the famous iron clad steamer and battering ram Merrimac.

As this dangerous monster silently approached the Cumberland, that vessel discharged a volley of her heavy guns at the stranger. The balls indeed reached their aim, but they did not produce the slightest perceptible effect. They glanced from her iron sides and deck, leaving no trace of their contact. The Congress also added the compliment of her artillery to that of the Cumberland, but with an equally harmless result. The Rebel craft seemed to defy and scorn their attacks; for she continued steadily to approach, her ports all silent and shut, but under the impetus of a powerful head of steam. At length she steered with direct aim and increased velocity toward the

Cumberland. She struck her amidships with her iron beak, making a fearful gash in her side. She then fired a volley into the wounded vessel, drew off a short distance and repeated the ferocious assault. It was enough to seal her fate; the Cumberland had been fatally disabled, and was instantly in a sinking condition. During the progress of this attack, two Rebel steamers, the Yorktown and the Jamestown, had descended the James river, and engaged the Union vessels on the other side.

The Merrimac, having thus destroyed the Cumberland, turned her prow and addressed herself to the Congress. This vessel was unable to make any effective resistance, her crew having been discharged the day before, and several companies of the naval brigade being only temporarily on board. When her commander saw the hopelessness of resistance, the wooden vessels being entirely at the mercy of the iron batterer, he struck his colors to avoid the destruction which had overtaken the Cumberland. The Jamestown then approached, received on board the officers of the Congress as prisoners, and gave the crew an opportunity to escape in the boats. The vessel was then fired by the Rebels. Immediately after this achievement, the Merrimac, the Yorktown and Jamestown, commenced an attack in concert on the batteries of Newport News, to which that fort responded with vigor. Meanwhile the Congress burned to the water's edge, and, before sinking, blew up, The Cumberland also sank. The loss of life in both ships was considerable, inasmuch as a large number of the crews of both were unable to escape in the boats.

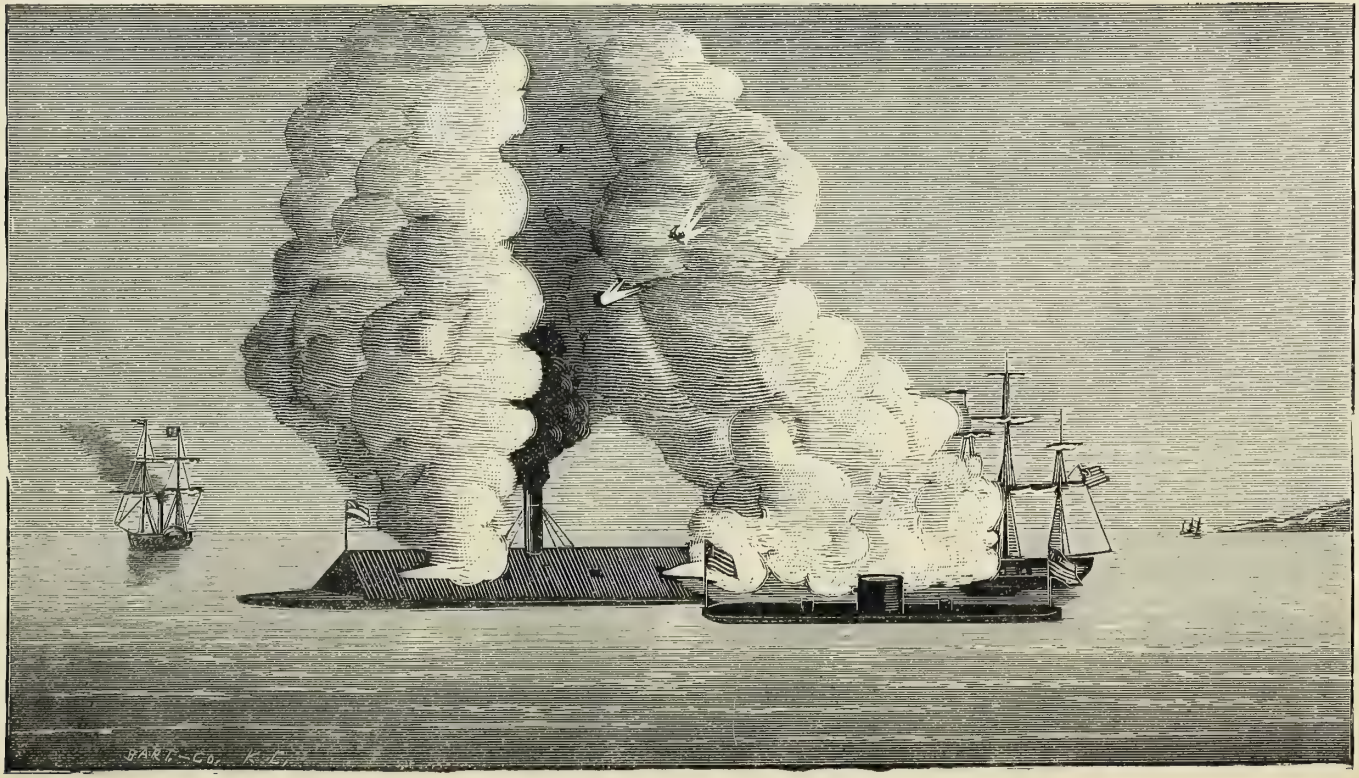
The Merrimac, having completed her intended achievements, returned in triumph to Norfolk, capturing in her passage several small vessels. This sudden demonstration of naval power was one of the most noteworthy incidents which had yet occurred during the war. Never before had the efficiency of ironclad steam batteries been so clearly demonstrated. It was now evident that the colossal wooden vessels which had for ages been the pride and the terror of European fleets; could be henceforth rendered harmless by the use of ships of much

smaller proportions, if incased in iron, if propelled by steam, and if armed with the sharp iron beaks which had been familiar to the naval architecture of the Ancient Greeks and Romans.

Fortunately for the honor and safety of the Union cause, the private enterprise of an eminent citizen had constructed a vessel on the same principle; and that vessel, by an equally propitious accident, arrived in the vicinity of this disaster a few hours after its occurrence. The Ericsson ironclad steamer, Monitor, reached Fortress Monroe at nine o'clock on the night of the 8th of March.

The next morning she proceeded out into the channel and invited the exulting enemy to an engagement. The offer was accepted, and soon the Merrimac, the Yorktown and Jamestown, attempted to renew the triumph of the preceding day. A desperate combat of five hours duration ensued. The wooden vessels of the Rebels quickly found it expedient to retire, leaving the iron bound monsters confronting each other. Then a most singular and novel spectacle was exhibited. During several hours the vessels fought fiercely, butting and grappling each other. They repeatedly discharged their heavy guns against each other's sides; but, while the shot of the Merrimac rebounded harmlessly from the impenetrable covering of her antagonist, the greater calibre of the guns of the Monitor forced their thunderbolts through the sides of the Rebel craft and severely damaged her. The Monitor was commanded with great skill and fortitude by Lieutenant J. S. Worden, who was wounded during the engagement. At its termination the Merrimac was towed back to the port of Norfolk, apparently disabled, and evidently with much less exultation than had characterized her return to her berth on the preceding day. The presence of the Monitor in Hampton Roads secured the Union vessels, which were enforcing the blockade of James river from the future attacks of the Merrimac; and, fortunately, without the laurels which had so suddenly sprung up to decorate the brows of the Confederate naval heroes.

The Merrimac, whose sudden onslaught on the Federal



NAVAL CONFLICT—MERRIMAC AND MONITOR.

ships excited so much surprise and indignation, originally belonged to the Federal Government, had been built in 1855 at the Charlestown navy yard, and was known in the Federal Navy by the same name. She happened to be lying in the port of Norfolk, as a store and receiving ship, at the period of the Rebel attack on that city. When the navy yard at Norfolk was abandoned and sacrificed in so mysterious a manner by Commodore McCaulley, the Merrimac was set on fire, scuttled and sunk by his order. She was 3,200 tons burden, and pierced by forty guns. The Rebel authorities appreciating her value, subsequently raised the hull and proceeded to convert her into an iron-clad battery. She was covered with a bomb-proof coating of wrought-iron several inches in thickness. Her bow was armed with a steel peak projecting six feet under the water, with which to strike and perforate her opponents. Her decks were protected by a covering of railroad iron, in the form of an arch, from which the shot and shell of her assailants necessarily glanced without effect. Her special mission was intended to be to sink the various vessels engaged in the blockade of the Southern ports; and it is probable that had not the formidable and unexpected apparition of the Monitor suddenly intercepted her purpose, it would have been, in a great measure, accomplished, before any other effectual means to prevent it could have been obtained by the Federal Government.

The structure of the Monitor was essentially different from that of her rival. She was 172 feet in length, and placed so low in the water as to afford little surface for the assaults of the enemy. Her deck was flat, and her sides encased in heavy armor. Both ends of the vessel were pointed, and she required very little water in which to float. The chief objects which appeared on her deck, were a smoke-stack and a turret. The latter was encased in wrought-iron several inches in thickness, and contained two guns, each ball of which weighed 184 pounds. Within the bowels of the vessel, a powerful engine was placed, which drove her with resistless impetus against her enemy. Her flat deck was bomb-proof and covered with iron

plate an inch in thickness. The turret revolved, so as to be able to bring its tremendous guns to bear at any angle which might be desired. The vessel was a marvel of architectural skill and of mechanical power, such as the present age had never before witnessed.

On the 8th of February, a Union squadron, commanded by General Burnside and Commodore Goldsborough, attacked the Confederate fortifications on Roanoke Island. The garrison, nearly 3,000 strong, were taken prisoners. Burnside next proceeded against Newbern, and on the 14th of March captured the city. Proceeding southward, he reached the harbor of Beaufort, and on the 25th of April took possession of the town. On the 11th of the same month, Fort Pulaski, at the mouth of the Savannah, surrendered to General Gilman. Early in April, a powerful squadron, under General Butler and Admiral Farragut, succeeded in running past the batteries. On the next day they reached New Orleans and captured the city. General Butler became commandant, and the fortifications were manned with 15,000 Union soldiers. Three days afterwards, Forts Jackson and Saint Philip surrendered to Admiral Porter.

The Confederates now invaded Kentucky in two strong divisions, one led by General Kirby Smith and the other by General Bragg. On the 30th of August, Smith's army reached Richmond and routed the Federals stationed there with heavy losses. Lexington was taken, and then Frankfort, and Cincinnati was saved from capture only by the exertions of General L. Wallace. Meanwhile the army of General Bragg advanced from Chattanooga and, on the 17th of September, captured a Union division of four thousand five hundred men at Mumfordsville. The Confederate general pressed on toward Louisville and would have taken the city but for the arrival of General Buell. His army was increased to a hundred thousand men. In October he again took the field, and on the 8th of the month, General Bragg arrived at Perryville. Here a severe but indecisive battle was fought, and the Confederates laden with spoils continued their retreat into East Tennesee.

On the 19th of September a hard battle was fought at

Iuka, between the Union army under Generals Rosecrans and Grant, and a Confederate force under General Price. The latter was defeated, losing, in addition to his killed and wounded, nearly a thousand prisoners. Rosecrans now took post at Corinth with twenty thousand men; while Grant with the remainder of the Union forces proceeded to Jackson, Tennessee. Generals Price and Van Dorn turned about to re-capture Corinth. There, on the 3d of October, another severe fight ensued, which ended after two days fighting in the repulse of the Confederates.

General Grant next moved forward to co-operate with General Sherman in an effort to capture Vicksburg. On the 20th of December, General Van Dorn cut Grant's line of supplies at Holly Springs, and obliged him to retreat. On the same day General Sherman dropped down the river from Memphis to the Yazoo. On the 29th of the month, he made an unsuccessful attack on the Confederates at Chickasaw Bayou. The assault was exceedingly disastrous to the Union army, who lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners more than three thousand men.

General Rosecrans was now transferred to the command of the Army of the Cumberland, with headquarters at Nashville. General Bragg, on his retirement from Kentucky, had thrown his forces into Murfreesboro. Rosecrans moved forward, and on the 30th of December, came upon the Confederates on Stone's river, a short distance north-west of Murfreesboro. On the following morning a furious battle ensued, continuing until night fall. The Union army was brought to the verge of ruin. But during the night Rosecrans rallied his forces and at day-break was ready to renew the conflict. On that day there was a lull. On the morning of the 2d of January, Bragg's army again rushed to the onset, gained some successes at first, was then checked and finally driven back with heavy losses. Bragg withdrew his shattered columns and filed off towards Chattanooga.

In Virginia the first scenes of the year were enacted in the Shenandoah Valley. General Banks was sent forward with a

strong division, and in the last of March occupied the town of Harrisonburg. To counteract this movement, Stonewall Jackson was sent with twenty thousand men to pass the Blue Ridge and cut off Banks' retreat. At Front Royal, the Confederates fell upon the Union troops, routed them, and captured their guns and stores. Banks, succeeded, however in passing with his main division to Strasburg and escaping out of the Valley. Jackson now found himself in great peril. For General Fremont had been sent into the Valley to intercept the Confederate retreat. But Jackson succeeded in reaching Cross Keyes before Fremont could attack him. The battle was so little decisive that Jackson passed on to Port Republic, where he attacked and defeated the division of General Shields.

On the 10th of March, the Army of the Potomac set out from the camps about Washington to capture the Confederate Capital. The advance proceeded as far as Manassas Junction, where McClellan changing his plan, embarked a hundred and twenty thousand of his men for Fortress Monroe. From that place, on the 4th of April, the Union Army advanced to Yorktown. This place was defended by ten thousand Confederates under General Magruder; and here McClellan's advance was delayed for a month. On the 4th of May, Yorktown was taken, and the Union Army pressed on to West Point at the junction of the Mattapony and Pamunky. McClellan reached the Chickahominy without serious resistance, and crossed Battonis bridge.

On the 10th of May, General Wood, the commandant of Fortress Monroe, led an expedition against Norfolk, and captured the town. On the next day the iron clad Virginia was blown up to save her from capture. The James river was thus opened for the supply transports of the Army of the Potomac. On the 31st of May, that army was attacked by the Confederates at a place called Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines. Here for a part of two days, the battle raged with great fury. At last the enemy were driven back; but McClellan's victory was by no means decisive. General Joseph E. Johnston, the Confederate Commander-in-Chief; was severely wounded, and the command devolved on General Robert E. Lee.

McClellan now formed the design of retiring to a point on the James, below Richmond. Before the movement fairly began General Lee, on the 25th of June, struck the right wing of the Union Army at Oak Grove, and a hard fought battle ensued. On the next day another engagement occurred at Mechanicsville, and the Union troops won the field. On the following morning, Lee renewed the struggle at Gaines' Mill, and came out victorious. On the 29th, McClellan's Army was attacked at Savage's Station, and again in the White Oak Swamp—but the Confederates were kept at bay. On the 30th was fought the desperate battle of Glendale, or Frazier's Farm. On that night the Union Army reached Malvern Hill, twelve miles below Richmond. General Lee determined to carry the place by storm. On the morning of the 1st of July, the whole Confederate Army rushed forward to the assault. All day long the struggle for the possession of the high grounds continued. Not until nine o'clock at night did Lee's columns fall back exhausted. For seven days the roar of battle had been heard almost without cessation. On the 2d of July, McClellan retired with his army to Harrison's Landing, a few miles down the river, and the great campaign was at an end. The Union Army had lost more than fifteen thousand men, and the losses of the Confederates had been still greater.

General Lee now formed the design of capturing the Federal Capital. The Union troops between Richmond and Washington were under command of General John Pope. Lee moved Northward, and on the 20th of August, Pope retreated beyond the Rappahannock. Meanwhile General Banks was attacked by Stonewall Jackson at Cedar Mountain, where nothing but hard fighting saved the Union troops from a rout. Jackson next passed swiftly by with his division on a flank movement to Manassas Junction, where he made large captures. Pope then threw his army between the two divisions of the Confederates. On August 28th and 29th, there was terrible fighting on the old Bull Run battle field. At one time it seemed that Lee's Army would be defeated, but Pope's reinforcements were withheld by General Porter, and on the 31st, the Confederates

attacked the Union Army at Chantilly, winning a complete victory. Generals Stevens and Kearney were among the brave men who were killed in this battle. Pope withdrew his broken columns as rapidly as possible, and found safety within the defenses of Washington.

General Lee now crossed the Potomac at Point of Rocks, and on the 6th of September captured Frederick, Maryland.

Here occurred a notable instance of heroism, mingled with love for the old flag.

We digress to give the story of Barbara Frietchie, as told by the poet Whittier. She was an old lady living in Frederick, Maryland, who was willing to give her own life to save the flag she so dearly loved:

BARBARA FRIETCHIE.

Up from the meadows rich with corn,
Clear in the cool September morn,
The clustered spires of Frederick stand
Green-walled, by the hills of Maryland.

Round about them orchards sweep,
Apple and peach tree fruited deep,
Fair as a garden of the Lord
To the eyes of the famished Rebel horde.

On that pleasant morn of the early fall,
When Lee marched over the mountain wall,
Over the mountains winding down,
Horse and foot into Frederick town,

Forty flags with their crimson bars,
Forty flags with their silver stars,
Flapped in the morning wind; the sun
Of noon looked down, and saw not one.

Up rose old Barbara Frietchie then;
Bowed with her four-score years and ten,
Bravest of all in Frederick town,
She took up the flag the men hauled down.

In her attic window the staff she set,
To show that one heart was loyal yet.
Up the street came the Rebel tread,—
Stonewall Jackson riding ahead.

Under his slouched hat, left and right,
He glanced; the old flag met his sight.
"Halt!"—the dust-brown ranks stood fast.
"Fire!"—out blazed the rifle blast.

It shivered the window, pane and sash;
It rent the banner with seam and gash.
Quick, as it fell, from the broken staff
Dame Barbara snatched the silken scarf.

She leaned far out on the window-sill,
And shook it forth with a royal will.
"Shoot, if you must, this old gray head,
But spare your country's flag," she said.

A shade of sadness, a blush of shame,
Over the face of the leader came;
The nobler nature within him stirred
To life at that woman's deed and word!

"Who touches a hair of yon gray head
Dies like a dog! March on!" he said.
All day long through Frederick street
Sounded the tread of marching feet:

All day long that free flag toss'd
Over the heads of the Rebel host.
Ever its torn folds rose and fell
On the loyal winds that loved it well.

Barbara Frietchie's work is o'er,
And the Rebel rides on his raids no more:
And ever the stars above look down
On thy stars below in Frederick town!

Flag of Freedom and Union wave!
Over Barbara Frietchie's grave,
Honor to her! and let a tear
Fall, for her sake, on Stonewall's bier.

On the 10th, Hagerstown was taken, and on the 15th, Stonewall Jackson captured Harper's Ferry with nearly 12,000 prisoners; on the previous day there was a hard-fought engagement at South Mountain, in which the Union troops gained the battle. McClellan's army was now in the rear of Lee, who fell back to Antietam Creek, and took a strong position near Sharpsburg. Then followed two days of skirmishing, which terminated on the 17th in one of the great battles of the war. From morning till night the struggle continued with terrific fury, and ended, after a loss of more than 10,000 men on each side, in a drawn battle. Lee withdrew his forces from the field and recrossed the Potomac.

General McClelland next moved forward to Rectortown, Virginia. Here he was superseded by General Burnside, who changed the plan of campaign, and advanced against Fredericksburg. At this place the two armies were again brought face to face. Burnside's movement was delayed, and it was not until the 12th of December that a passage could be effected. Meanwhile the heights South of the river had been

strongly fortified, and the Union columns were hurled back in several desperate attempts to dislodge Lee. The Union army, in its vain attempt to capture an impregnable position, lost over 12,000 men. Thus, in disaster to the Union cause, ended the campaigns of 1862.

The war had now grown to enormous proportions. The Confederate States were draining every resource of men and means, and the superior energies of the North were greatly taxed. On the day after the battle of Malvern Hill, President Lincoln issued a call for three hundred thousand troops. During Pope's retreat from the Rappahannock, he sent forth another call for three hundred thousand, and to that was added a draft of three hundred thousand more. Most of these demands were promptly met, and it became evident that in resources the United States Government was vastly superior to the Confederacy. On the 1st of January, 1863, the President issued the Emancipation Proclamation, of which he had given notice in the previous September. The war had been begun with no well defined intention to free the slaves of the South. But during the progress of the struggle the sentiment of abolition had grown with great rapidity; and when at last it became a military necessity to strike a blow at the labor system of the South, the step was taken with but little opposition. Thus, after an existence of two hundred and forty-four years, African slavery in the United States was swept away.

Early in January, General Sherman dispatched an expedition to capture Arkansas Post, on the Arkansas river. The Union forces reached their destination on the 10th of the month, fought a battle with the Confederates and gained a victory. On the next day the fort was surrendered with nearly five thousand prisoners. Soon afterwards the Union forces were concentrated for the capture of Vicksburg. Three months were spent by General Grant in examining the bayous around Vicksburg, in the hope of getting a position in the rear of the town. A canal was cut across a bend in the river with a view to opening a passage for the gunboats. But a flood washed the works away; then another canal was begun only to be aban-

doned. Finally it was determined to run the fleet past the batteries of the enemy on the heights of Vicksburg. On the night of the 16th of April the boats dropped down the river. All of a sudden the guns open fire with shot and shell, pelting the passing steamers; but they went by with little damage.

General Grant now marched his land forces down the Mississippi, and formed a junction with the squadron. On the 1st day of May, he defeated the Confederates at Port Gibson. The evacuation of Grand Gulf followed immediately. The Union Army marched around to the rear of Vicksburg. On the 12th of May, a Confederate force was defeated at Raymond. On the 14th of the month, a decisive battle was fought near Jackson; the Confederates were beaten and the city captured. General Pemberton moved forward with his forces from Vicksburg but was defeated by Grant on the 16th, at Champion Hills, and again at Black River Bridge, on the 17th. He then fell back within the defenses of Vicksburg.

The city was now besieged. On the 19th of May, Grant made an assault on the works of the enemy, but was repulsed with terrible losses. Three days afterwards the attempt was renewed with a still greater destruction of life. But the siege was pressed with never ceasing severity. Admiral Porter bombarded the town incessantly. Reinforcements swelled the Union ranks. Pemberton held out until the 4th of July, and was then driven to surrender. The defenders of Vicksburg, numbering thirty thousand, became prisoners of war.

Thousands of small arms, hundreds of cannon, and vast quantities of ammunition and stores were the fruits of the great victory.

Meanwhile General Banks had been conducting a campaign on the lower Mississippi. From Baton Rouge he advanced into Louisiana, reached Brashear City, and gained a victory over the Confederates at Bayou Teche. He then moved Northward and besieged Port Hudson, the last fort held by the Confederates on the Mississippi. The garrison made a brave defense, and it was not until the 8th of July that the commandant, with his force of six thousand men, was obliged to surrender.

Just before the investment of Vicksburg, occurred the great raid of the Union leader, Colonel Grierson. With the sixth Illinois Cavalry he struck out from La Grange, Tennessee, traversed Mississippi to the east of Jackson, cut the railroads, destroyed property, and after a rapid course of more than eight hundred miles, gained the river at Baton Rouge. Late in the same spring Colonel Streights' command went on a raid into Georgia, but was surrounded and captured by General Forrest. In the latter part of June, Rosecrans succeeded in crowding General Bragg out of Tennessee. The Union general followed and took post at Chattanooga, on the left bank of the Tennessee. During the summer Bragg was reinforced by the corps of Johnson and Longstreet. On the 19th of September, he turned upon the Union army at Chickamauga Creek in the North-west angle of Georgia. A bloody battle was fought, but night came with the fight undecided. On the following morning the conflict was renewed. After several hours of desperate fighting, the Union army was split in two through a mistake made by General Wool. Bragg instantly thrust forward a heavy Confederate column into the gap, and the Union army being thus cut in two, drove the right wing into a rout. General Thomas, with desperate firmness, held the left until nightfall, and then fell back to Chattanooga. The Union loss amounted to nearly nineteen thousand, and that of the Confederates was fully as great.

General Bragg pressed forward to besiege Chattanooga. But General Hooker arrived with two corps from the Army of the Potomac, opened the Tennessee river and brought relief. At the same time General Grant assumed the direction of affairs at Chattanooga. General Sherman arrived with his division and offensive operations were at once renewed. On the 24th of November, Lookout Mountain, overlooking the town and river was stormed and captured, by the division of General Hooker. The following description of the battle of Missionary Ridge is of great interest.

CHAPTER XVII.

BATTLE OF MISSIONARY RIDGE.

"From rank to rank their volleyed thunder flew,
Death spoke in ev'ry booming shot,
That knelled upon the ear."

LATE on the afternoon of November 25th, there was an accident—an accident like the charge of Balaklava; though, unlike this theme for poetry, it called for greater daring, and was attended by complete success, and yielded most important results, for, it led to the complete shattering of the Southern army and drove them from the field.

On Orchard Knob, and opposite the center of Missionary Ridge were four divisions of the Army of the Cumberland. On the left was Baird's division; then Wood's and Sheridan's divisions occupying the lines which two days before, they had taken in their magnificent advance; on the right was Johnson's division—all under the personal command of Thomas. It was past three o'clock. General Sherman had ceased operations. General Hooker's advance had not yet been felt. The day was dying, and Bragg still held the ridge. If any movement to dislodge him was to be made that day, it must be made at once. At half past three o'clock, an attack was ordered by General Grant. He had changed his plan of battle. At once orders were issued that at the firing in rapid succession of six guns, on Orchard Knob, Thomas' whole line should instantly move forward, Sheridan's and Wood's divisions in the center, Sheridan to be supported on the right by Johnson, and Wood on the left by Baird's division. This demonstration was to be made to relieve the pressure on Sherman. The only order given was to move forward and take the rifle pits at the foot of the ridge. In Sheridan's division the order was, "as soon as the signal is given, the whole line will advance and you will take what is before you."

Between Orchard Knob and Missionary Ridge was a valley partly covered with a small growth of timber. It was wooded in front of the right of Baird's, and of the whole of Wood's division. In front of Sheridan's and Johnson's, it had been almost entirely cleared. At the foot of the ridge were heavy rifle pits, which could be seen from Orchard Knob, and extending in front of them for four or five hundred yards the ground was covered with felled trees. There was a good plain for both direct and enfilading fire from the rifle pits, and the approaches were commanded by the Southern artillery. At this point the ridge is five or six hundred feet high. Its side, scored with gullies, and showing but little timber, had a rough and bare appearance. Half way up was another line of rifle pits, and the summit was furrowed with additional lines and dotted over with epaulements, in which were placed fifty pieces af artillery. The art of man could not have made a stronger fortress. Directly in front of Orchard Knob, and on the summit of the ridge, was a small house, where Bragg had established his headquarters.

At twenty minutes before four the signal guns were fired. Suddenly twenty thousand men rushed forward, moving in line of battle by brigades, with a double line of skirmishers in front, and closely followed by the reserves in mass. The big siege guns in the Chattanooga forts roared above the light artillery and musketry in the valley. The enemy's rifle pits were ablaze and the whole ridge in our front had broken out like another Ætna. Not many minutes afterwards our men were seen working through the felled trees and other obstructions. Though exposed to such a terrific fire, they neither fell back nor halted. By a bold and desperate push they broke through the works in several places, and opened flank and reserved fires. The enemy were thrown into confusion, and took precipitate flight up the ridge. Many prisoners and a large number of small arms were captured. The order of the commanding General had now been fully and most successfully carried out. But it did not go far enough to satisfy these brave men, who thought the time had come to finish the battle of Chickamauga. There was a halt of but a few minutes, to take breath and to reform lines;

then, with a sudden impulse, all started up the side of the ridge. Not a commanding officer had given the order to advance. The men who carried the muskets had taken the matter into their own hands, had moved of their own accord. Officers, catching their spirit, first followed, then led. There was no thought of protecting flanks, though the enemy's line could be seen stretching beyond on either side, there was no thought of support, or reserves.

As soon as this movement was seen from Orchard Knob, Grant quickly turned to Thomas, who stood by his side and I heard him angrily say: "Thomas, who ordered those men up the ridge?" Thomas replied in his usual slow, quiet manner: "I don't know. I did not." Then addressing General Gordon Granger, he said: "Did you order them up, Granger?" "No," said Granger, "they started up without orders. When those fellows get started, all hell can't stop them." General Grant said something to the effect that somebody would suffer if it did not turn out well, and then turning round, stoically watched the ridge. He gave no further orders.

As soon as Granger had replied to Thomas, he turned to his Chief-of-Staff, General J. S. Fullerton, and said: "Ride at once to Wood and then to Sheridan, and ask them if they ordered their men up the ridge, and tell them if they can take it to push ahead." As I was mounting Granger added: "It is hot over there and you may not get through. I shall send Captain Avery to Sheridan and other officers after both of you." As fast as his horse could carry him, he rode first to General Wood and delivered the message. "I didn't order them up," said Wood; "they started up on their own account, and they are going up, too! Tell Granger if we are supported, we will take and hold the ridge." As soon as he reached General Wood, Captain Avery got to General Sheridan and delivered his message. "I didn't order them up," said Sheridan; "but we are going to take the ridge." He then asked Avery for his flask and waved it at a group of Confederate officers standing just in front of Bragg's headquarters, with the salutation, "Here's at you!" At once two guns—the "Lady Breckinridge" and the "Lady

Buckner"—in front of Bragg's headquarters, were fired at Sheridan and the group of officers about him. One shell struck so near as to throw dirt over Sheridan and Avery. "Ah!" said the General, "that is ungenerous; I shall take those guns for that!" Before Sheridan received the message taken by Captain Avery, he had sent a staff-officer to Granger to enquire whether the order given to take the rifle pits, meant those at the base, or those on top of the ridge? Granger told this officer that, the order was given to take those at the base. Conceiving this to be an order to fall back, the officer, on his way to Sheridan, gave it to General Wagner, commanding the second brigade of the division, which was then nearly half way up the ridge. Wagner ordered his brigade back to the rifle pits at the base, but it only remained there until Sheridan, seeing the mistake, ordered it forward. It again advanced under a terrific fire that was raking the lower part of the ridge.

The men, fighting and climbing up the steep hill, sought the roads, ravines, and less rugged parts. The ground was so broken that it was impossible to keep a regular line of battle. At times their movements were in shape like the flight of migratory birds. Sometimes in line, sometimes in mass, mostly in V-shaped groups, with the points towards the enemy. At these points regimental flags were flying; sometimes dropping as the bearers were shot, but never reaching the ground, for other brave hands were there to seize them. Sixty flags were advancing up the hill, in the faces of its defenders. Bragg was hurrying large bodies of troops from his right to the center. They could be seen coming along the summit of the ridge in double quick time. Cheatham's division was being withdrawn from Sherman's front. Bragg and Hardee were at the center, doing their utmost to encourage their troops, and urging them to stand firm, and drive back the advancing enemy now so near the summit; indeed, so near that the guns could not be sufficiently depressed to reach them, and became useless. Artillerymen were lighting the fuses of shells and bowling them down the hill by hundreds. The critical moment arrived when the summit was just within reach. At

six different points, and almost simultaneously, Sheridan's and Wood's divisions broke over the crest; Sheridan's first, near Bragg's headquarters; and in a few minutes Sheridan was beside the guns that had been fired at him, and claiming them as captures of his division. Baird's division took the works on Wood's left, almost immediately afterwards; and then Johnson came up on Sheridan's right. The enemy's guns were turned upon those who still remained in the works, and soon all were in flight down the Eastern slope. Baird got on the ridge just in time to change front and oppose a large body of the enemy moving down from Bragg's right to attack our left. After a sharp engagement, which lasted until dark, he drove the enemy back beyond a high point on the North, which he at once occupied. The sun had not yet gone down; Missionary Ridge was ours and Bragg's army was broken and in flight. Dead and wounded comrades lay thickly strewn on the ground; but thicker yet were the dead and wounded men in gray. Then followed the wildest confusion as the victors gave vent to their joy. Some madly shouted; some wept from very excess of joy; some grotesquely danced out their delight. Even our wounded forgot their pain to join in the general hurrah. But Sheridan did not long stop to receive praise and congratulations. With two brigades he started down the Mission Mills road, and found, strongly posted on a second hill, the enemy's rear. They made a stout resistance, but, by a sudden flank movement, he drove them from the heights, and captured two guns and many prisoners. The day was succeeded by a clear moonlight night. At seven o'clock General Granger sent word to General Thomas that, by a bold dash at Chickamauga Crossing, he might cut off a large number of the enemy now supposed to be leaving Sherman's front, and that he proposed to move in that direction. It was midnight before guides could be found, and then General Sheridan again put his tired and well worn men in motion. He reached the creek just as the rear guard of the enemy was crossing, and pressed it so closely that it burned the pontoon bridge before all the troops were over. Here Sheridan captured several hundred prisoners,

a large number of Quartermaster's wagons, together with caissons, artillery, ammunition and many small arms.

In this battle, Sheridan's and Wood's divisions—the two center assaulting divisions—took thirty-one pieces of artillery, several thousand small arms, and 3,800 prisoners. In that one hour of assault the enemy lost 2,337 men in killed and wounded—over twenty per cent. of their whole force. The Northern loss was, in killed and wounded, 1,697.

During the night, the last of Bragg's army was withdrawn from Missionary Ridge, and Chattanooga, from that time, remained in undisputed possession of the Union forces.

After the battle, Bragg's army fell back in full retreat toward Ringgold. On the 1st of September, General Burnside arrived with his command at Knoxville. After the battle of Chickamauga, General Longstreet was sent into East Tennessee, where he arrived and began the siege of Knoxville. On the 29th of November, the Confederates attempted to carry the town by storm, but were repulsed with heavy losses. General Sherman soon marched to the relief of General Burnside, and Longstreet retreated into Virginia.

Early in 1863, the Confederates resumed activity in Arkansas and Southern Missouri. On the 8th of January, they attacked Springfield, but were repulsed. Three days afterward, at Hartsville, a battle was fought with similar result. On the 26th of April, General Marmaduke attacked the post at Cape Girardeau, but the garrison drove the Confederates away. On the 4th of July, General Holmes made an attack on the Union troops at Helena, Arkansas, but was repulsed. On the 13th of August, Lawrence, Kansas, was sacked, and 140 persons killed by a band of desperate fellows led by a guerilla chieftain called Quantrell. On the 10th of September, the Union General Steele captured Little Rock, Arkansas.

In the summer of this year, General John Morgan made a great raid through Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio. He crossed the Ohio at Brandenburg, and began his march to the North. At Corydon and other points he was resisted by the home guards and pursued by General Hobson. Morgan crossed into

Ohio, made a circuit north of Cincinnati, and attempted to recross the river, but the raiders were driven back. The Confederate leader pressed on until he came near New Lisbon, when he was captured by the brigade of General Shackelford. After a four months' imprisonment, Morgan was released, and subsequently killed by Union troops in a guerrilla engagement.

On the 1st of January, General Magruder captured Galveston, Texas. By this means the Confederates secured a port of entry in the Southwest. On the 7th of April, Admiral Dupont, with a fleet of iron-clad vessels, attempted to capture Charleston, but was driven back. In June, the city was besieged by a strong land force under General Gilmore, assisted by Admiral Dahlgren's fleet. After the bombardment had continued for some time, General Gilmore, on the 18th of July, attempted to carry Fort Wagner by assault, but was repulsed with severe loss. The siege progressed until the 6th of September, when the Confederates evacuated the fort and retired to Charleston. Gilmore now brought his guns to bear on the wharves and buildings in the lower part of the city, but Charleston still held out, and the only gain of the Union troops was the establishment of a complete blockade.

After his defeat at Fredericksburg, General Burnside was superseded by General Joseph Hooker, who, in the latter part of April, crossed the Rappahannock and reached Chancellorsville. Here on the morning of the 2d of May, he was attacked by the army of Northern Virginia, commanded by Generals Lee and Jackson. The latter General, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, outflanked the Union army, burst upon the right wing and swept everything to destruction. But it was the last of Stonewall Jackson's battles. As night came on, this most skillful and heroic Confederate leader received a volley through a mistake of his men, from his own lines, and fell from his horse mortally wounded, never to rise again.

On the 3d, the battle was renewed, General Sedgwick was defeated and driven across the Rappahannock. The main army was crowded between Chancellorsville and the river, where it remained until the 5th, when General Hooker succeeded in

withdrawing his forces to the Northern bank. The Union losses amounted in killed, wounded and prisoners to about seventeen thousand; those of the Confederates to about twelve thousand. Next followed the cavalry raid of General Stoneman. On the 29th of April, he crossed the Rappahannock with ten thousand men, tore up the Virginia Central Railroad, cut General Lee's communications, swept around within a few miles of Richmond, and then recrossed the Rappahannock in safety.

General Lee now determined to carry the war into the North. In the first week of June he crossed the Potomac and captured Hagerstown. On the 22d, he entered Chambersburg, and then pushed on through Carlisle to within a few miles of Harrisburg. The militia of Pennsylvania was called out, and volunteers came pouring in from other States. General Hooker pushed forward to attack his antagonist; General Lee rapidly concentrated his forces near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. On the eve of battle, the command of the Union army was transferred to General George G. Meade, who took up a position on the hills around Gettysburg. Here the two armies, each numbering about eighty thousand men, were brought face to face.

After more than two years of indecisive warfare it seemed that the fate of the American Republic was to be staked on the issue of a single battle. On the morning of the 1st of July the Union advance, led by Generals Reynolds and Buford, while moving Westward from Gettysburg, encountered the Confederate division of General Hill coming up on the road from Hagerstown, and the struggle began. In the afternoon strong re-inforcements were received, and a severe battle was fought for the possession of Seminary Ridge. In this initial conflict the Confederates were victorious, driving the Union line from its position, through the village, and back to the high grounds to the Southward. Here at night-fall a stand was made, and a new battle line was formed, reaching from an eminence called Round Top, where the left wing rested, around the crest of the ridges to Cemetery Hill, where the center was posted, and thence to Wolf Hill on Rock Creek. To this position, well

chosen and strong, the whole Union Army, except Sedgwick's corps, was hurried forward during the night. The Confederate forces were all brought into position on Seminary Ridge and the high grounds to the left of Rock Creek, forming a semicircle about five miles long. The cavalry of both armies hung upon the flanks, doing effective service, but hardly participating in the main conflict of the center.

On the morning of July 2d the corps of General Longstreet, on the Confederate right, moved forward impetuously and attacked the Union left under Sickles. The struggle in this part of the field was for the possession of Great and Little Round Top, and after terrible fighting, which lasted until six o'clock in the evening, these strong positions remained in the hands of the Union troops. In the center a similar conflict, lasting for the greater part of the day, ensued for the possession of Cemetery Hill. Here, too, notwithstanding the desperate assaults of the Confederates, the integrity of the national line was preserved till nightfall. On the right the Confederate onset was more successful, and the Union right under General Slocum was somewhat shattered. But at ten o'clock at night, when the fighting ceased, it was found that the positions of the two armies had not been materially changed by a conflict which had left forty thousand dead and wounded on the field of battle.

Under cover of the darkness, both generals made arrangements to renew the struggle on the morrow, but, when the morning came, both hesitated to begin, for each felt that this day's action must be decisive. General Meade had some advantage in the fact that Lee, in order to continue his invasion, must carry the Union position or retreat. The whole forenoon of the 3d was spent in preparations. At midday there was a lull, then burst forth the fiercest artillery engagement ever known on the American Continent. Until after two o'clock the hills were shaken with the thunders of more than 200 ponderous cannon. The Confederate artillerymen concentrated their fire on the Union center at Cemetery Hill, which became a scene of indescribable uproar and death. Then came the crisis.

The roar of the heavy guns ceased. A Confederate column, nearly three miles long, headed by the Virginians under General Pickett, made a final and desperate charge on the Union center; but the assault was in vain, and the brave Southern troops who made it were mowed down with terrible slaughter.

The victory remained with the Union army, and General Lee fell back with his shattered legions to the Potomac. The entire Union and Confederate loss in this, the greatest battle of the war, was about 30,000 men on each side. General Lee withdrew his forces into Virginia, and the Union army resumed its old position on the Potomac and Rappahannock. Such were the more important military movements of 1863.

The administration of President Lincoln was beset with many difficulties. The last calls for volunteers had not been fully met. The peace party of the North denounced the measures of the Government as unconstitutional. On the 3d of March, the Conscription Act was passed by Congress, and the President ordered a draft of 300,000 men.

The measure was bitterly opposed, and in many places the draft officers were resisted. In New York City a most incendiary hand-bill appealing to the people to rise, for the vindication of their liberties had been anonymously circulated in the city, on the night before the 4th of July, with evident intent to incite an insurrectionary movement on that day; but the tidings received by telegraph of Meade's success in baffling Lee at Gettysburg, called all the supporters of the war into the streets, and inclining its opponents to solitude and seclusion, interfered with the execution of the programme. But now inflamed by the appeals of their favorite journals, the commencing of drafting in several New York districts was marked by the gathering, especially in the upper portion of the city, where there was a compact population of laborers, mainly of Irish birth, of excited crowds, who soon proceeded to violence, arson and bloodshed.

In the Ninth Congressional District comprising the most Northerly wards of the city largely peopled by Irish railroad employes, and other foreigners, the drawing commenced at ten

o'clock in the forenoon in the house where the enrollment had been made, at the corner of Third Avenue and Forty-sixth Street, in the presence of some three hundred persons, mainly spectators. Half an hour thereafter, when seventy-five to one hundred names had been drawn, while all was quiet and orderly within the building, a pistol was fired in the street, where a large crowd had rapidly assembled. Instantly a shower of brickbats and other missiles was hurled at the house, and the crowed rushed in, driving out the officers and clerks, tearing up the papers, and taking complete possession. In a few minutes, one of the rioters produced a can of spirits of turpentine, which he poured over the floor and set fire to it, and the building was soon in flames, the policemen and draft officers who attempted resistance being driven off by a shower of stones. Mr. John A. Kennedy, Superintendent of Police, who was present in plain clothes, being recognized by the mob, was taken in hand and severely beaten. A small force of the Invalid Corps soon appeared, but was promptly overpowered and driven off by the mob, now numbering furious thousands, and a strong detachment of police, which attempted to disperse or drive the rabble, was likewise worsted and forced to retreat. The firemen who were tardy in their appearance, and who were cheered and applauded by the mob, made no effort to save the obnoxious house in which the fire had been kindled, but finally arrested the progress of the conflagration; though not till several more houses had been destroyed, and the bulk of the miscreants had moved off to other scenes of outrage and devastation.

The organized militia of the city were generally absent in the interior of Pennsylvania, the Government had no military force within call, but a handful on Governor's Island and in forts commanding the seaward approaches; while the police, though well organized and efficient, was not competent to deal with a virtual insurrection which had the great body of the Irish laborers of the city at its back, with nearly every one of the ten thousand whisky shops for its block houses and recruiting stations. The outbreak had manifestly been premeditated and pre-arranged; and the tidings of its initial success being

instantly diffused throughout the city, incited an outpouring into the streets of all who opposed the draft, hated the war, or detested Republicans and colored people as the culpable causes of both. The rioters constantly increased their numbers by calling at the gas houses, railroad offices, workshops and great manufactories, and there demanding that all work should be stopped and the laborers allowed to fall into their ranks, a demand which, through cowardice or sympathy, was too generally acceded to. Of course, the thieves, burglars and other predatory classes, the graduates of prisons and the scum and sediment of Ireland, who by tens of thousands have their lairs in all great cities, were too glad to embrace the opportunity afforded them to plunder and ravage under the garb of popular resistance to Black Republican despotism, and made haste to swell the ranks and direct the steps of the drunken, bellowing, furious mob, who now rushed through street after street, attacking the dwellings of peaceful citizens who were stigmatized as Black Abolitionists, or who were exposed to odium by some sort of connection with the Government. By 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the rioters had become many thousands in number; and they were probably more numerous throughout the two following days.

The most dreadful feature of this carnival of crime and villainous madness was the uniform maltreatment to which the poor frightened colored people were subjected. The building of the New York Tribune was another object of attack by the rioters, and for days it was beleaguered by a yelling, frantic crowd, who constantly sought to incite each other to an attack, which they were too careful of their own safety to make. (Save once, just at dark of the first day before it had been armed, and when they for a moment had possession of the business office, and had just time to dismantle and set it on fire before they were charged and driven out by the police). This was quite intelligible, if not so clearly justifiable; and so of the attacks on enrollment offices, arsenals and police stations. But, it was remarkable that an inoffensive colored boy should be hunted at full speed by a hundred white Devils

intent on his murder, while numbers of poor colored women had their humble habitations sacked and devastated, as they hurriedly ran into the street, barely escaping with their lives, and nothing else. Several of the much abused colored race murdered without even a suggestion of suspicion of fault on their part, and all of the rest of the colored people put in mortal terror, was an exhibition of human depravity, which the nineteenth century has rarely paralleled. In one case that was noted, and there are doubtless others as atrocious, a little colored boy not ten years of age, was set upon in the heart of the city, and pelted with sticks and stones by scores of excited men until he managed to make his escape. In another case a colored man, not at all obnoxious, save by his color, was chased, caught, hung, and all his clothing burned off. His dead body remained hanging for hours until cut down by the police.

The Colored Orphan Asylum was one of the noblest charities of the city of New York. It had a spacious and elegant edifice worth, with its furniture, some $200,000, at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Forty-sixth Street, not far from the enrolling office, where the riots began. It was a school as well as an asylum, affording shelter, sustenance and Christian nurture to some two hundred colored orphans, under the patronage and management of a society of philanthropic ladies. At five o'clock in the afternoon a vast mob surrounded it, disabled or drove off the few policemen, who affected to bar an entrance, and having afforded time for a hasty exit of the colored orphan children, fired and destroyed the beautiful building and all its remaining contents; having in the meantime stolen a liberal supply of the carpets, iron bedsteads, and other portable furniture, which women stood ready, at a little distance, to carry off, so soon as they were handed to them by their husbands or sons. Some of the clothing of the colored children which they had left behind in their flight, was also stolen by the white mob. The cool, business-like manner wherein this wholesale robbery and arson were perpetrated on orphan children, astonished even the most hardened newspaper

reporters. A liberal but not very responsible offer of five hundred ($500) dollars for the sight of a "Black Republican," chalked in immense letters, appeared on the fence of an adjacent cattle market. It was a revengeful spirit stimulated by the recent and glorious triumphs of the Union cause, showing that slavery must go, which was at the bottom of all this arson, devastation, robbery and murder. For three days the authorities were set at defiance; and over one hundred people were killed, but a force of regulars and volunteers gathered at the scene, and the riot was suppressed.

Only about fifty thousand men were obtained by the draft. But volunteering was quickened by the measure, and the employment of substitutes soon filled the ranks. In October the President issued another call for three hundred thousand men. By these measures the columns of the Union Army were made more powerful than ever. In the Armies of the South, on the other hand, there were already symptoms of exhaustion. On the 20th of June in this year, West Virginia was separated from the Old Dominion and admitted as the thirty-fifth State of the Union.

Early in February, 1864, General Sherman moved from Vicksburg to Meridian. In this vicinity the railroad tracks were torn up for a hundred and fifty miles. At Meridian General Sherman expected a force of Union cavalry, which had been sent out from Memphis under General Smith. The latter advanced into Mississippi, but was met by the cavalry of Forrest and driven back to Memphis. General Sherman thereupon retraced his course to Vicksburg. Forrest continued his raid Northward to Paducah, Kentucky, and made an assault on Fort Anderson, but was repulsed with a severe loss.

Forrest, with the larger portion of his command, had meantime fallen back into Tennessee, when he suddenly appeared before Fort Pillow, some 40 miles above Memphis, held by Major Booth, with a garrison of 557 men, 262 of whom were colored soldiers of the sixth United States heavy artillery. The other battalion was composed of white soldiers under Major Bradford, thirteenth Tennessee cavalry. Major Booth had six guns.

The attack was made before sunrise, and the fighting was sharp until 9 o'clock in the forenoon, when Major Booth was killed. Hitherto the Union troops had defended an outer line of intrenchments, but Major Bradford now drew the garrison back into the fort, situated on the high, steep, but partially timbered bluff of the Mississippi, with a ravine on either hand, also partially wooded. The gunboat, New Era, Captain Marshall, assisted in the defense; but to little purpose, because of the height of the bank, and because the Confederates if shelled up one ravine, shifted their operations to the other.

The fighting went on till late in the afternoon, without material advantage to the enemy; when the fire on both sides slackened to allow the guns to cool, while the New Era, nearly out of cartridges, moved back into the channel to clean her guns. Forrest improved the opportunity to send a summons, and soon after a second, demanding a surrender in twenty minutes, which Bradford declined.

While these negotiations were in progress, the Confederates were stealing down both ravines and gaining sheltered positions, whence they could rush upon the fort whenever the signal should be given.

Bradford's answer having been received their rush was instantaneous, and in a moment the fort was in their hands; while the garrison, throwing down their arms, fled down the steep bank, trying to hide behind trees or logs, or skulk in bushes, or find comparative safety in the river. The Confederates followed, butchering white and colored soldiers and non-combatants, men, women and children, with no more discrimination than humanity.

Disabled men were made to stand up and then be shot; others were burned with the tents wherein they had been nailed to the floor. This carnival of murder continued till dark, and was even renewed the next morning. Major Bradford was not murdered till they had taken him as a prisoner several miles on their retreat South.

It was in vain that Forrest and his superior officer undertook to palliate this infernal atrocity in defiance of their own

record. Apart from the general threats of the Confederate authorities that they would refuse to treat colored soldiers or their white officers as prisoners of war, Forrest, not three weeks before, had seen fit to summon the surrender of Paducah, and his order contained the following language: "If you surrender you shall be treated as prisoners of war, but if I have to storm your works, you may expect no quarter."

Both Booth and Bradford having been killed, the precise terms in which he summoned Fort Pillow, do not appear; but Buford's demand for the surrender of Columbus, the next day after the Fort Pillow massacre, ended with the following sentence: "Should I be compelled to take the place by force, no quarter will be shown Negro troops whatever. White troops will be treated as prisoners of war." General S. D. Lee, the superior officer of Forrest, endeavors to shield the subordinate assassin in an explanatory article, but all of Lee's assertions cannot weigh against the solemn oaths of scores of unimpeached witnesses, several of whom themselves were shot and left for dead long after the fighting had utterly ceased, when they were known to have surrendered, and several of whom testify that they saw colored prisoners butchered the next day. And the evidence of whites and blacks proves that the murderers a hundred times declared that they shot the blacks because they were "niggers" and the whites for "fighting with niggers." If human testimony ever did or can establish anything, then this is proved a case of deliberate, wholesale massacre of prisoners of war after they had surrendered —many of them long after—and for the naked reason that some of them were black and others were fighting in black company.

Forrest retreated rapidly from the scene of the achievement into Mississippi and was not effectively pursued; there being no adequate cavalry at hand for the purpose.

In the spring of 1864, the Red river expedition was undertaken by General Banks. The object was to capture Shreveport, the seat of the Confederate Government of Louisiana. On the 14th of March the Union troops captured Fort De

Russy, on Red river. The Confederates retreated to Alexandria, and on the 16th that city was taken by the Union soldiers. Three days afterward Natchitoches was captured. The fleet now proceeded up stream toward Shreveport, and the land forces whirled off to the left.

At Mansfield, on the 8th of April, the advancing Unionists were attacked by the Confederates, and completely routed. At Pleasant Hill, on the next day, the main body of the Union Army was badly defeated. The flotilla now descended the river from the direction of Shreveport. The whole expedition returned as rapidly as possible to the Mississippi. General Steele had in the meantime advanced from Little Rock to aid in the reduction of Shreveport; but learning of the Union defeats, he withdrew after several severe engagements.

On the 2d of March, 1864, General Grant was appointed Commander-in-Chief of all the Armies of the United States. Seven hundred thousand soldiers were now to move at his command. Two great campaigns were planned for the year. The Army of the Potomac, under Meade and the General-in-Chief, was to advance upon Richmond; General Sherman, with a hundred thousand men, was to march from Chattanooga against Atlanta.

On the 7th of May, General Sherman moved forward. At Dalton he succeeded in turning Johnston's flank, and obliged him to fall back to Reseca. After two hard battles, on the 14th and 15th of May, this place was carried and the Confederates retreated to Dallas. Here, on the 28th, Johnston made a second stand, but was again out-flanked and compelled to fall back to Lost Mountain. From this position he was forced on the 17th of June. The next stand was made on Great and Little Kenesaw Mountains. From this line, on the 22d of June, the division of General Hood made a fierce attack, but was repulsed with heavy losses.

Five days afterward, General Sherman attempted to carry Great Kenesaw by storm, but the assault ended in a dreadful repulse. Sherman resumed his former tactics, and on the 5th of July, compelled his antagonist to retreat across the Chatta-

hoochee. By the 10th of the month the whole Confederate army had retired to Atlanta.

This stronghold was at once besieged. Here were the machine shops, foundries, and car works of the Confederacy. At the beginning of the siege, the cautious and prudent Johnston was superseded by the brave, and rash General Hood. On the 20th, 22d and 28th of July, the latter made three assaults on the Union lines, but was driven back with terrible losses. It was in the second of these battles that the brave General McPherson was killed. For more than a month the siege of Atlanta was pressed with great vigor. At last Hood was obliged to abandon the city, and on the 2d of September, the Union army marched into the stronghold of Georgia.

General Hood now turned Northward toward Tennessee, swept up through Northern Alabama, crossed the river at Florence, and advanced on Nashville. Meanwhile, General Thomas, with the army of the Cumberland, had been detached from Sherman's army and sent Northward to confront Hood. General Schofield, who commanded the Union forces in Tennessee, fell back before the Confederates and took post at Franklin. Here, on the 30th of November, he was attacked by Hood's legions, and held them at bay until nightfall, when he retreated within the defenses of Nashville. At this place all of General Thomas' forces were concentrated. Hood came on, confident of victory, and prepared to begin the siege; but before the work was fairly begun, General Thomas, on the 15th of December, fell upon the Confederate army, and routed it with a loss of more than 25,000 men. For many days of freezing weather, Hood's columns were pursued until at last they found refuge in Alabama.

On ths 14th of November, General Sherman burned Atlanta, and began his march to the sea. His army now numbered 60,000.

He cut his communications with the North, abandoned his base of supplies, and struck out for the seacoast, two hundred and fifty miles away. The Union army passed through Macon and Milledgeville, crossed the Ogeechee, captured Gibson and

Waynesborough, and on the 10th of December arrived in the vicinity of Savannah. On the 13th, Fort McAlister was carried by storm. On the night of the 20th, General Hardee, the Confederate leader, escaped from Savannah and retreated to Charleston. On the 22d, General Sherman made his headquarters in the city.

January, 1865, was spent by the Union army at Savannah. On the 1st of February, General Sherman began his march against Columbia, South Carolina. The Confederates had not sufficient troops to stay his progress. On the 17th of the month, Columbia was surrendered. On the same night, Hardee, having destroyed the public property of Charleston, and kindled fires which laid four squares in ashes, evacuated the city; and on the following morning the national forces entered. After the burning of Columbia, General Sherman marched into North Carolina, and on the 11th of March, captured Fayetteville.

General Johnston was now recalled to the command of the Confederate forces, and the advance of the Union army began to be seriously opposed. At Averasborough, on the Cape Fear River, General Hardee made a stand, but was repulsed. When, on the 19th of March, General Sherman was approaching Bentonsville, he was attacked by Johnston, and for a while the Union army was in danger of defeat. But the day was saved by hard fighting, and on the 21st, Sherman entered Goldsborough. Here he was reinforced by Generals Schofield and Terry. The Federal army turned to the Northwest, and on the 13th of April, entered Raleigh. This was the end of the great march; and here, on the 26th of the month, General Sherman received the surrender of Johnston's army.

We cannot even give specimen extracts of the many strongly and clearly worded papers written by General Sherman during his military career, as general orders, directions for the government of captured places or property, or discussions of points of military or civil law. But we must transcribe the noblest compliment which the great soldier ever received; the testimony of the colored clergyman, Rev. Garrison Frazier, at Savannah, during the conference there for organizing the freedmen. As

to the merits of General Sherman towards the Colored Race, Mr. Frazier said: "We looked upon General Sherman prior to his arrival as a man in the providence of God, specially set apart to accomplish this work, and we unanimously feel inexpressible gratitude to him, looking upon him as a man that should be honored for the faithful performance of his duty. Some of us called on him immediately upon his arrival, and it is probable he would not meet the Secretary with more courtesy than he met us. His conduct and deportment towards us characterized him as a friend and a gentleman. We have confidence in General Sherman, and think what concerns us could not be under better management."

General Sherman's negotiations with Johnston, their disapproval by Government, and his quarrel in consequence with General Halleck and Secretary Stanton were unfortunate; but it would be utterly absurd to admit for a moment that his motives for what he did were other than the very best; and his own explanation of the affair shows that he was following out a policy which would have been in full harmony with President Lincoln's own feelings, as communicated to General Sherman on the subject.

Meanwhile important events had occurred on the Gulf. Early in August, 1864, Admiral Farragut bore down on the defenses of Mobile. The harbor was defended by a Confederate fleet and the monster ironclad Tennessee. On the 5th of August, Farragut ran past Forts Morgan and Gaines into the harbor. In order to direct the movements of his vessels, the old Admiral mounted to the maintop of the Hartford, lashed himself to the rigging, and from that high perch gave his commands during the battle. One of the Union ships struck a torpedo and sank. The rest attacked and dispersed the Confederate squadron; but just as the day seemed won, the Tennessee came down at full speed to strike the Hartford. Then followed one of the fiercest conflicts of the war. The Union ironclads closed around their antagonist and battered her with fifteen inch bolts of iron till she surrendered.

Next came the capture of Fort Fisher, at the entrance to

Cape Fear River. In December, Admiral Porter was sent with a powerful Union squadron to besiege and take the Fort. General Butler, with 6,500 men, accompanied the expedition. On the 24th of the month, the troops were sent ashore with orders to storm the works. When General Weitzel, who led, came near enough to reconnoiter, he decided that an assault could only end in disaster. General Butler held the same opinion, and the enterprise was abandoned. Admiral Porter remained before Fort Fisher with his fleet, and General Butler returned to Fortress Monroe. Early in January, the siege was renewed, and on the 15th of the month Fort Fisher was taken by storm.

In the previous October, Lieutenant Cushing, with a number of volunteers, embarked in a small steamer and entered the Roanoke. A tremendous iron ram, called the Albemarle, was discovered lying at the harbor of Plymouth. Cautiously approaching, the lieutenant sank a torpedo under the Confederate ship, exploded it, and left the ram a ruin. The adventure cost the lives or capture of all of Cushing's party, except himself and one other, who made good their escape.

During the progress of the war, the commerce of the United States was greatly injured by the Confederate cruisers. The first ship sent out was the Savannah, which was captured on the same day that she escaped from Charleston. In June, of 1861, the Sumter, commanded by Captain Semmes, ran the blockade at New Orleans, and did fearful work with the Union merchantmen. But in February of 1862, Semmes was chased into the harbor of Gibraltar, where he was obliged to sell his vessel. The Nashville ran out from Charleston, and returned with a cargo worth $3,000,000. In March of 1863, she was sunk by a Union iron-clad in the Savannah River.

The ports of the Southern States were now closely blockaded. In this emergency, the Confederates turned to the shipyards of Great Britain, and began to build cruisers. In the harbor of Liverpool the Florida was fitted out; and going to sea in the summer of 1862, she succeeded in running into Mobile Bay. She afterwards destroyed fifteen merchantmen,

and was then captured and sunk in Hampton Roads. The Georgia, the Olustee, the Shenandoah, and the Chickamauga, all built at the ship-yards of Glasgow, Scotland, escaped to sea and made great havoc with the merchant ships of the United States.

Most destructive of all was the Alabama, built at Liverpool. Her commander was Captain Raphael Semmes. A majority of the crew were British subjects; and her armament was entirely British. In her whole career which involved the destruction of sixty-six vessels and a loss of ten million dollars to the United States, she never entered a Confederate port. In the summer of 1864, Semmes was overtaken in the harbor of Cherbourg, France, by Captain Winslow, Commander of the steamer Kearsarge. On the 19th of June, Semmes went out to give his antagonist battle. After a desperate fight of an hour's duration, the Alabama was sunk. Semmes was picked up by the British vessel Deerhound, and carried in safety to Southampton.

On the night of the 3d of May, 1864, the National camp at Culpepper was broken up and the march on Richmond began. On the first day of the advance, Grant crossed the Rapidan and entered the Wilderness, a country of oak woods and thickets.

The Army of the Potomac, which had now commenced its march toward Richmond, was more powerful in numbers than at any previous period of the war. It was thoroughly equipped and provided with every appliance of modern warfare. On the other hand, the Confederate army of Northern Virginia had gained little in numbers during the winter just passed, and had never been so scantily supplied with food and clothing. The equipment as to arms was well enough for men who knew how to use them, but commissary and quartermaster's supplies were lamentably deficient. A new pair of shoes or an overcoat was a luxury, and full rations would have astonished the stomachs of Lee's ragged veterans. But they took their privations cheerfully, and complaints were seldom heard. An instance is recalled of one hardy fellow, whose trousers were

literally worn so they would no longer adhere to his legs even by dint of the most persistent patching. Unable to obtain another pair, he wore instead a thin pair of cotton drawers. By taking good care of these he managed to get through the winter. Before the campaign opened in the spring, the quartermaster received a lot of clothing and he was the first man in his regiment to be supplied.

Expressions of surprise arose in many minds, that such ragged, barefooted, half-starved men would fight at all. But the very fact that they remained with their colors through such privations and hardships was sufficient to prove that they would be dangerous foes to encounter upon the field of battle. The morale of the army at this time was excellent, and it moved forward confidently to the grim death grapple in the Wilderness of Spotsylvania with its old enemy, the Army of the Potomac.

General Lee's headquarters were at Orange Court House; of his three corps, Longstreet's was at Gordonsville, Ewell's was on the Rapidan, above Mine Run, and Hill's on his left, higher up the stream. When the Union Army was known to be in motion, General Lee prepared to move upon its flank with his whole force, as soon as it should clear the river and begin its march Southward. The route selected by General Grant led entirely around the right of Lee's position on the river above. His passage of the Rapidan was unopposed, and he struck boldly out on the direct road to Richmond. Two roads lead from Orange Court House down the Rapidan towards Fredericksburg. They follow the general direction of the river, and are almost parallel to each other—the "Old Turnpike" nearest the river, and the "Plank Road" a short distance south of it. The route of the Federal Army lay directly across these two roads, along the western borders of the famous Wilderness.

About noon on the 4th of May, Ewell's corps was put in motion on the Orange Turnpike, while A. P. Hill, with two divisions, moved parallel with him on the Orange Plank Road. The two divisions of Longstreet's corps, encamped near Gor-

donsville, were ordered to move rapidly across the country and follow Hill on the Plank Road. Ewell's corps was the first to find itself in the presence of the enemy. As it advanced along the Turnpike, on the morning of the 5th, the Union column was seen crossing it from the direction of Germania Ford. Ewell promptly formed in line of battle across the Turnpike, and communicated his position to General Lee, who was on the Plank Road with Hill's column. He was instructed to regulate his movements by the head of Hill's column, whose progress he could tell by the firing in its front, and not to bring on a general engagement until Longstreet's command should come up. The position of Ewell's troops, so near the flank of the Union line of march, was anything but favorable to a preservation of the peace, and a collision soon occurred which opened the campaign in earnest.

CHAPTER XVIII.

BATTLES IN THE WILDERNESS.

"Hark! the death denouncing trumpet sounds
The fatal charge, and shouts proclaim the onset
Destruction rushes dreadful to the field
And bathes itself in blood: havoc let loose
Now undistinguished, rages all around:
While Ruin, seated on her dreary throne,
Sees the plain strewed with subjects truly hers,
Breathless and cold."

GENERAL WARREN, whose corps was passing when Ewell came up, halted and turning to the right made a vigorous attack upon Edward Johnson's division, posted across the Turnpike. Jones' brigade, which held the road, was driven back in confusion. Stewart's brigade was pushed forward to take its place. Rodes' division was thrown on Johnson's right, South of the road, and the line thus re-established, moved forward, reversed the tide of battle, and rolled back the Union attack. The fighting was severe and bloody while it lasted. The lines were in such proximity at one point in the woods that, when the Union Army gave way, the One Hundred and Forty-sixth New York regiment threw down its arms and surrendered in a body.

Ewell's entire corps was now up, Johnson's division holding the Turnpike, Rodes' division on the right of it, and Early's in reserve. So far Ewell had only been engaged with Warren's corps, but Sedgwick's soon came up from the river and joined Warren on his right. Early's division was sent to meet it. The battle extended in that direction, with steady and determined attacks upon Early's front, until nightfall. The Confederates still clung to their hold on the Union flank against every effort to dislodge them.

When Warren's corps encountered the head of Ewell's column on the 5th of May, General Meade is reported to have said: "They have left a division to fool us here, while

they concentrate and prepare a position on the North Anna." If the stubborn resistance to Warren's attack did not at once convince him of his mistake, the firing which announced the approach of Hill's corps along the Plank Road very soon afterwards, must have opened his eyes to the bold strategy of the Confederate commander. General Lee had deliberately chosen this as his battle ground. He knew this tangled wilderness well, and appreciated fully the advantages such a field afforded for concealing his great infirmity of force, and for neutralizing the superior strength of his antagonist.

General Grant's bold movement across the lower fords into the Wilderness, in the execution of his plan to swing past the Confederate Army and place himself between it and Richmond, offered the expected opportunity of striking a blow upon his flank while his troops were stretched out on the line of march. The wish for such an opportunity was doubtless in a measure, "father to the thought" expressed by General Lee three days before at the signal station on Clark's mountain.

Soon after Ewell became engaged on the old Turnpike. A. P. Hill's advance struck the Union outposts on the Plank Road at Parker's store, on the outskirts of the Wilderness. These were driven in and followed up to their line of battle, which was so posted as to cover the junction of the Plank Road with the Stevensburg and Brock roads, on which the Federal Army was moving toward Spotsylvania. The fight began between Getty's division of the sixth corps and Heth's division, which was leading A. P. Hill's column. Hancock's corps, which was already on the march for Spotsylvania by way of Chancellorsville, was at once recalled, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon was ordered to drive Hill "out of the wilderness." Wilcox's division was thrown in to Heth's support, and Poague's battalion of artillery took position in a little clearing on the North side of the Plank Road, in rear of the Confederate infantry. But there was little use for artillery on such a field. After the battle was fairly joined in the thickets in front, its fire might do as much damage to friend as to foe; so it was silent. It was a desperate struggle between the infantry of the two armies, on a field

whose physical aspects were as grim and forbidding as the struggle itself. It was a battle of brigades and regiments, rather than of corps and divisions. Officers could not see the whole length of their commands, and could only tell whether the troops on their right and left were driving or being driven by the sound of the firing. It was a fight at close quarters too, for as night came on, in those tangled thickets of stunted pine, sweet gum, scrub oak and cedar, the approach of the opposing lines could only be discerned by the noise of their passage through the under brush or the flashing of their guns. The usually silent Wilderness had suddenly become alive. The angry flashing of the musketry and its heavy roar, mingled with the yells of the combatants as they swayed to and fro in the gloomy thickets. Death was busy, and he reaped more laurels than either Lee or Grant. Among the killed was General Hays of Hancock's corps.

When the battle closed at 8 o'clock, General Lee sent an order to Longstreet to make a night march, so as to arrive upon the field at daylight the next morning. The latter moved at one o'clock A. M. of the 6th, but it was day light when he reached the Plank Road at Parker's store, three miles in rear of Hill's battle field. During the night the movements of troops and preparations for battle could be heard on the Union line in front of Heth's and Wilcox's divisions, who had so far sustained themselves against every attack by six divisions under General Hancock. But they were thoroughly worn out. Their lines were ragged and irregular with wide intervals, and in some places fronting in different directions. Expecting to be relieved during the night, no effort was made to rearrange and strengthen them to meet the storm that was brewing.

As soon as it was light enough to see what little could be seen in that dark forest, Hancock's troops swept forward to the attack. The blow fell with greatest force upon Wilcox's troops South of the Orange Plank Road. They made what front they could and renewed the fight, until the attacking column overlapping the right wing, it gave way, and the whole line "rolled up" from the right and retired in disorder along the

Plank Road as far as the position of Poague's artillery, which now opened upon the attacking force. The Union troops pressed their advantage and were soon abreast of the artillery on the opposite side, their bullets flying across the road among the guns where General Lee himself stood. For a while matters looked very serious for the Confederates. General Lee, after sending a messenger to hasten the march of Longstreet's troops and another to prepare the trains for a movement to the rear, was assisting in rallying the disordered troops and directing the fire of the artillery, when the head of Longstreet's corps appeared in double column, swinging down the Orange Plank Road at a trot. In perfect order, ranks well closed, and no stragglers, those splendid troops came on, regardless of the confusion on every side, pushing their steady way "onward like a river in the sea" of confused and troubled human waves around them. Kershaw's division took the right of the road, and coming into line under a heavy fire, moved obliquely to the right (south), to meet the Union left, which had "swung round" in that direction. The Unionists were checked in their sweeping advance and thrown back upon their front line of breastworks, where they made a stubborn stand. But Kershaw, urged on by Longstreet, charged with his whole command, swept his front and captured the works.

Nearly at the same moment, Field's division took the left of the road, with Gregg's brigade in front, Benning's behind it, Laws' next, and Jenkins' following. As the Texans in the front line swept past the batteries where General Lee was standing, they gave a rousing cheer for "Marse Robert," who spurred his horse forward and followed them in the charge. When the men became aware that he was going in "with them," they called loudly to him to go back. "We won't go on unless you go back," was the general cry. One of the men dropped to the rear, and taking the bridle turned his horse around, while General Gregg came up and urged him to do as the men wished. At that moment a member of his staff (Colonel Venable) directed his attention to General Longstreet, whom he had been looking for, and who was sitting on his

horse near the Orange Plank Road. With evident disappointment, he turned off and joined General Longstreet.

The ground over which Field's troops were advancing was open for a short distance, and fringed on its farther edge with scattered pines, beyond which the dense wilderness growth began. The Federal troops had entered the pines and were advancing with apparently resistless force, when Gregg's eight hundred Texans, regardless of numbers, flanks or supports, dashed directly upon them. There was a terrific crash, mingled with wild yells, which settled down into a steady war of musketry. In less than ten minutes, one-half of that devoted eight hundred were lying upon the field dead or wounded; but they had delivered a staggering blow and broken the force of the Union advance. Benning's and Laws' brigades came promptly to their support, and the whole swept forward together. The tide was flowing the other way now. It ebbed and flowed many times that day, strewing the flower-clad ground of the Wilderness with the human slain. Laws' brigade captured a line of log breastworks in its front, but had held them only a few moments when their former owners came back to claim them. They were rudely received and driven back to a second line several hundred yards beyond, which was also taken. This advanced position was attacked in front, and on the right from across the Orange Plank Road, and Laws' Alabamians "advanced backwards" without standing on the order of their going, until they reached the first line of logs, now in their rear. As their friends in blue still insisted on claiming their property, and were advancing to take it, they were met by a counter-charge and again driven beyond the second line. This was held against a determined attack, in which the Union General Wadsworth was shot from his horse as he rode up close to the right of the line on the Plank Road. The position becoming again untenable, by reason of the movements of Union troops on their right, they retired a second time to the works they had first captured.

And so, for more than two hours, the storm of battle swept to and fro, in some places passing several times over the same

ground, and settling down at length almost where it had begun the day before.

About ten o'clock it was ascertained that the Union left flank rested only a short distance South of the Orange Plank Road, which offered a favorable opportunity for a turning movement in that quarter. General Longstreet at once moved Mahone's, Wofford's, Anderson's and Davis' brigades, the whole under General Mahone, around this end of the Union line. Forming at right angles to it, they attacked in flank and rear, while a general advance was made in front. So far, the fight had been one of anvil and hammer, ringing blows had been given and received, and both sides were bleeding and bruised from their effects. But this first display of the tactics of battle, at once changed the face of the field. The Union left wing was rolled up in confusion towards the Plank Road, and then back upon the Brick Road, which was its chief outlet towards Spotsylvania.

This partial victory had been a comparatively easy one. The signs of demoralization and even panic among the troops of Hancock's left wing, who had been hurled back by Mahone's flank attack, were too plain to be mistaken by the Confederates, who believed that Chancellorsville was about to be repeated. General Longstreet rode forward and prepared to press his advantage. Jenkins' fresh brigade was moved forward on the Plank Road to renew the attack, supported by Kershaw's division, while the flanking column should come into position on its right. The latter were now in line South of the road and almost parallel to it. Longstreet and Kershaw rode with General Jenkins at the head of his brigade as it pressed forward, when suddenly the quiet which had reigned for some moments was broken by a few scattering shots on the North of the road, which were answered by a volley from Mahone's line on the South side. The firing in their front, and the appearance of troops on the road, whom they failed to recognize as friends through the intervening timber, had drawn a single volley, which lost to them all the points of the splendid work they had just done. General Jenkins was killed and Long-

street seriously wounded by their own men. The troops who were following them faced quickly towards the firing, and were about to return it, but when General Kershaw called out, "They are friends!" every musket was lowered, and the men dropped upon the ground to avoid the fire.

The head of the attack had fallen, and for a time the movements of the Confederates were paralyzed. The hand of fate seemed to be in it. The same thing had happened to Stonewall Jackson, in this same Wilderness, just one year before. General Lee came forward and directed in person the disposition of the troops for a renewal of the attack, but the change of commanders rendered necessary by the fall of Longstreet, and the resumption of the thread of operations that had fallen from his hands occasioned a delay of several hours, and then the tide which "taken at the flood leads on to fortune" had ebbed, and the Confederates only received hard knocks instead of a brilliant victory. When at 4 o'clock an attack was made upon the Union line along the Brock road, it was found strongly fortified and stubbornly defended. The log breastworks had taken fire during the battle, and at one point separated the combatants by a wall of fire and smoke which neither could pass. Part of Field's division captured the works in their front, but were forced to relinquish them for want of support. Meanwhile Burnside's corps, which had reinforced Hancock during the day, made a vigorous attack on the North of the Orange Plank Road, Laws' and Perry's brigades were being forced back, when, Heth's division coming to their assistance, they assumed the offensive, driving Burnside's troops beyond the extensive line of breastworks constructed previous to their advance.

The battles fought by Ewell on the old Turnpike, and by A. P. Hill on the Plank Road, on the 5th of May, were entirely distinct, no connected line existing between them. Connection was established with Ewell's right by Wilcox's division, after it had been relieved by Longstreet's troops, on the morning of the 6th. While the battle was in progress on the Orange Plank Road, on the 6th, an unsuccessful attempt was made to

turn Ewell's right by Wilcox's division, after it had been relieved by Longstreet's troops on the morning of the 6th. While the battle was in progress on the Orange Plank Road, on the 6th, an unsuccessful attempt was made to turn Ewell's left next the river, and heavy assaults were made upon the line of Ewell's division. So persistent were these attacks on the front of Pegram's brigade, that other troops were brought up in the rear to its support, but when the offer was made to relieve it, the men rejected the offer, and said they wanted no assistance.

Late in the day General Ewell ordered a movement against the Union right wing, similar to that by which Longstreet had doubled up Hancock's left in the morning. Two brigades under General J. B. Gordon, moved out of their works at sunset, and lapping the right of Sedgwick's corps made a sudden and determined attack upon it. Taken by surprise the Unionists were driven from a large portion of their works with the loss of six hundred prisoners, among them Generals Seymour and Shaler. Night closed the contest, but the results were indecisive. About 15,000 men were lost on each side.

Grant next made a flank movement in the direction of Spotsylvania Court House. Here followed from the 9th till the 12th, one of the bloodiest struggles of the war.

CHAPTER XIX.

BATTLE OF SPOTSYLVANIA.

"War is honorable,
In those who do their native rights maintain,
In those whose swords an iron barrier are
Between the lawless spoiler and the weak.
But in those who draw the offensive blade
For added power or gain, sordid and despicable
As meanest office of the worldly churl."

NO engagement of importance took place on the 9th, which was spent in intrenching the lines and preparing places of refuge from the impending storm. But the 10th was a field day. Early in the morning it was found that Hancock's corps had crossed the Po—above the point where the Confederate left rested, had reached the Shady Grove road, and was threatening the Confederate rear, as well as the trains which were in that direction on the Old Court House road, leading to Louisa Court House. General Early was ordered from the right with Mahone's and Heth's divisions, and moving rapidly to the threatened quarters, attacked Hancock's rear division as it was about to recross the Po—driving it with severe loss, through the burning woods in its rear, back across the river.

Meanwhile General Grant was not idle elsewhere. He had commenced his efforts to break through the lines confronting him. The first assault was made upon Field's division of Longstreet's corps and met with a complete and bloody repulse. Again at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the blue Union columns pressed forward to the attack, and were sent back torn and bleeding, leaving the ground covered with their dead and wounded. But the onslaught had a terrible effect on the Confederates, their loss being terrific. Anticipating a renewal of the assaults, many of the Confederates went out in front of their breastworks, and gathering up the muskets and cartridge boxes of the dead and wounded, brought them in and

distributed them along the line. If they did not have repeating rifles, they had a very good substitute, several loaded ones to each man. They had no reserves, and knew that if they could not sufficiently reduce the number of their assailants to equalize matters somewhat before they reached the works, they might become untenable against Grant's heavy and determined attacks.

A lull of several hours succeeded the failure of the second attack, but it was only a breathing spell preparatory to the culminating effort of the day. Near sunset our skirmishers were driven in and the heavy dark lines of attack came into view one after another, first in quick time then in a trot, and then with a rush towards the works. The front lines dissolved before the pitiless storm that met them, but those in rear bravely pressed forward, and over their dead and dying comrades, reached that portion of the works held by the Texas brigade. These gallant fellows, now reduced to a mere handful owing to their fearful losses in the Wilderness, stood manfully to their work. Their line was beat backward by the pressure, but they continued to fight in rear of the works with bayonets, clubbed muskets and swords. Fortunately for them Anderson's brigade had cleared its own front, and a portion of it turned upon the flank of their assailants, who were driven out, leaving many dead and wounded inside the works.

While this attack was in progress on Field's line, another, quite as determined, was made further to the right in front of Rodes' division of Ewell's corps. Doles' brigade was broken and swept out of its works with the loss of three hundred prisoners. But as the attacking force poured through the gap thus made, Daniel's brigade on one side and Stewart's on the other drew back from their lines and fell upon its flanks, while Johnston's brigades were hurried up from the left an thrown across its front. Assailed on three sides at once, the Union troops were forced back to the works and over them, whereupon they broke in disorderly retreat to their own lines.

The next day was rainy and disagreeable, and no serious engagement took place. There were movements however,

along the Union lines, which indicated a withdrawal from the front of Longstreet's corps. Late in the afternoon, under the impression that General Grant had actually begun another flanking movement, General Lee ordered that all the artillery on the left and center which was difficult of access, should be withdrawn from the lines, and that everything should be in readiness to move during the night if necessary. Under this order, General Long, Ewell's chief of artillery, removed all but two batteries from the line of General Ed. Johnson, for the reason given, that they were difficult of access. Johnson's division held an elevated point, somewhat advanced from the general line, and known as the "Bloody Angle", the breastworks there making a considerable angle, with its points towards the enemy. This point had been held because it was a good position for artillery, and if occupied by the enemy would command portions of our line.

Such projections on a defensive line are always dangerous if held by infantry alone, as an attack upon the point of the angle can only be met by a diverging fire, or if attacked on either face, the troops holding the other face unless protected by works in rear, as were some of the Confederates, are more exposed than those on the side attacked. But with sufficient artillery, so posted as to sweep the sides of the angle, such a position may be very strong. To provide against contingencies, a second line had been laid off and partly constructed a short distance in rear, so as to cut off this angle.

After the artillery had been withdrawn on the night of the 11th, General Johnson discovered that the enemy was concentrating in his front, and, convinced that he would be attacked in the morning, requested the immediate return of the artillery that had been taken away. The men in the trenches were kept on the alert all night and were ready for the attack, when at dawn on the morning of the 12th, a dense column emerged from the pines half a mile in front of the Angle, and rushed to the attack. "They came on," to use General Johnson's words, "in great disorder, with a narrow front, but extending back as far as I could see."

Page's battalion of artillery, which had only been ordered back to the trenches at four o'clock in the morning, were just arriving and were not in position to fire upon the attacking column, which offered so fair a mark for artillery. The guns came only in time to be captured. The infantry in the Angle fought as long as fighting was of any use, but deprived of the assistance of the artillery, which constituted the chief strength of the position, they could do little to check the onward rush of the Union column, which soon overran the Angle, capturing General Johnson himself, twenty pieces of artillery and two thousand eight hundred men, almost his entire division.

The whole thing happened so quickly that the extent of the disaster could not be realized at once. Hancock's troops, who made the assault, had recovered their formation, and, extending their lines across the works on both sides of the Angle, had resumed their advance when Lane's brigade of Hill's corps, which was immediately on the right of the captured works, rapidly drew back to the unfinished line in the rear, and poured a fierce fire upon their left wing, which checked its advance and threw it back with severe loss. General Gordon, whose division was in reserve and under orders to support any part of the line about the Angle, hastened to throw it in front of the advancing Union column. As the division was about to charge, General Lee rode up and joined General Gordon, evidently intending to go forward with him. Gordon remonstrated, and the men, seeing his intention, cried out, "General Lee to the rear," which was taken up all along the line. One of the men respectfully, but firmly, took hold of the bridle and led his horse to the rear, and the charge went on.

The two moving lines met in the rear of the captured works, and, after a sharp struggle in the woods, the Union troops were forced back to the base of the Angle. But Gordon's division did not cover their whole front. On the left of the Angle, where Rodes' division had connected with Johnson's, the attack was still pressed with great determination. General Rodes drew out Ramseur's brigade from the left of his line, a portion of Kershaw's division taking its place, and

sent it to relieve the pressure on his right, and restore the line between himself and Gordon.

Ramseur swept the trenches the whole length of his brigade, but did not fill the gap, and his right was exposed to a terrible fire from the works still held by Grant's brave troops. Three brigades from Hill's corps were ordered up. Perrin's, which was the first to arrive, rushed forward through a fearful fire and recovered a part of the line on Gordon's left. General Perrin fell dead from his horse just as he reached the works. General Daniel had been killed, and Ramseur, though painfully wounded, remained in the trenches with his men. Rodes' right being still hard pressed, Harris' and McGowan's brigades were ordered forward and rushed through the blinding storm into the works on Ramseur's right. General Grant's troops still held the greater part of the Angle, and though the Confederates were unable to drive them out, they could get no farther. Hancock's corps, which had made the attack, had been reinforced by Upton's division of the Sixth Corps and one-half of Warren's corps, as the battle progressed. Artillery had been brought up on both sides, the Confederates using every piece that could be made available upon the Angle.

Before 10 o'clock General Lee had put in every man that could be spared for the restoration of his broken center. It then became a matter of endurance with the men themselves. All day long and until far into the night the battle raged with unceasing fury, in the space covered by the "Bloody Angle" and the adjacent works. The hostile battle flags waved over different portions of the same works while the men fought like fiends for their possession. It was "war to the knife and knife to the hilt." The very jaws of hell seemed to have opened, and death was rioting in its sulphurous fumes. The smoke, which was dense at first, was intensified by each discharge of artillery to such an extent that the aim of the Union troops became very uncertain, but nevertheless they kept up the fire in the supposed direction of the enemy.

Meanwhile the Confederates were crawling forward under cover of the smoke, until reaching a certain point, and raising

their usual yell, they charged gallantly up to the very muzzles of our pieces and re-occupied the Angle.

Upon reaching the breastworks, the Confederates for a few moments had the advantage of us, and made good use of their rifles. Union soldiers went down by the score; all the artillery horses were shot down, and the gallant Upton was the only mounted officer in sight. Hat in hand, he bravely cheered his men, and begged them to "hold this point." All of his staff had either been killed, wounded or dismounted.

At this moment, and while the open ground in rear of the Confederate works was choked with troops, a section of a battery of the Fifth United States artillery, under Lieutenant Metcalf, was brought into action and increased the carnage by opening at short range with double charges of canister. This staggered the apparently exultant Confederates.

These guns in the maze of the moment were run up by hand close to the famous Angle, fired again and again, and were only abandoned when all the drivers and cannoneers had been shot down. The battle was now raging at white heat.

Rain was also falling, and sulphurous clouds of smoke hung over the scene. Like leeches, Grant's men stuck to their work, determined to keep the Confederates from rising up.

Captain Fish, of Upton's staff, who had, until this time, performed valuable service in conveying ammunition to the gunners, fell pierced by a bullet. This brave officer seemed to court death as he rode back and forth between the caissons and cannoneers with stands of canister under his gum coat.

"Give it to them boys! I will bring you the canister," said he; and as he turned to cheer the gunners, he fell from his horse mortally wounded. In a few moments, the two brass pieces of the Fifth artillery, cut and hacked by the bullets of both antagonists, lay unworked, with their muzzles projecting over the enemy's works, and their wheels half sunk in the mud. Between the lines, and near at hand, lay the horses of these guns, completely riddled with bullets. The dead and wounded were torn to pieces by the canister, as it swept the ground where they had fallen. The mud, by this time, was half way

to the knees of the Union troops, and by their constant movement, the fallen were almost buried at their feet.

The Unionists now backed off from the breastwork a few yards, abandoning, for a while, the two twelve-pounders, but still keeping up a fusillade.

They soon closed up their shattered ranks, and the brigade settled down again to its task. Their fire was now directed at the top of the breastworks, and woe be to the head or hand that appeared above it.

In the meantime, the New Jersey brigade, Colonel Penrose, went into action on the right, and the Third Brigade, General Eustiss, was hard at work. The Vermont brigade, under Colonel Grant, that had been sent to Barlow's assistance, was now at the Angle, and General Wheaton's brigade was deep in the struggle. The Second and Third Divisions of the Sixth Corps were also ready to take part. It will thus be seen that General Grant had no lack of men for the defense or capture of this position, whichever it may be termed.

The great difficulty, was the prescribed limits of the Angle, around which Grant's men were fighting, which precluded the possibility of getting more than a limited number into action at once. At one time the Union ranks were crowded in some parts four deep by re-enforcements. Major Truefelt commanding the One Hundred and Nineteenth Pennsylvania, was killed, and Captain Warner, who succeeded him, was shot dead. Later in the day, Major Ellis, of the Forty-Ninth New York, who had excited our admiration, was shot through the arm and body with a ramrod, during one of several attempts to get the men to cross the works and drive off the enemy. The Union army met with frightful losses. What remained of many different regiments that had come to support each other, concentrated at this point, and they planted their tattered colors upon a slight rise of ground close to the Angle, where they staid during the latter part of the day.

To keep up the supply of ammunition, pack mules were brought into use, each animal carrying 3,000 rounds. The

boxes were dropped close behind the troops engaged, when they were quickly opened by the officers or file closers, who served the ammunition to the men.

Four hundred rounds of ammunition were fired by one man, and by many others as many or more. In this manner a continuous and rapid fire was maintained, to which the enemy replied with vigor for a while.

Finding that Grant's men were not to be driven back, the Confederates began to use more discretion, exposing themselves but little, using the loop-holes in their works to fire through, and at times placing the muzzles of their rifles on the top logs, seizing the trigger and small of the stock, and elevating the breech with one hand sufficiently to reach the Union soldiers. During the day a Union battery took position behind Grant's men, sending shell after shell close over their heads, to explode inside the Confederate works. In like manner, Coehorn mortars, still eight hundred yards further back, sent their shells with admirable precision over the Union troops into the Confederate lines. Sometimes the Confederate fire would slacken, and the moments would become so monotonous that something had to be done to stir things up. Then some resolute Union soldier would seize a fence rail or a piece of abatis, and creeping close to the breastworks, thrust it over among the Confederates, and then drop on the ground to avoid the volley that was sure to follow. A daring Union lieutenant in a company on the left, leaped upon the breastworks, took a rifle that was handed to him and discharged it among the Confederates. In like manner he discharged another, and was in the act of firing a third shot, when his cap flew up in the air and his body pitched headlong amongst the Confederates.

On several occasions squads of disheartened Confederates raised pieces of shelter tents above the works as a flag of truce; upon condition that the Union troops slack fire and calling them to come in, they would immediately jump the breastwork and surrender. One party of twenty or thirty thus signified their willingness to submit, but owing to the fact that their brave comrades occasionally took advantage of

the cessation to get a volley into the Union lines, it was some time before Grant's troops gave them a chance. With leveled pieces the Union soldiers told them to come in. Springing upon the breastworks in a body the Confederates stood for an instant panic stricken at the terrible array before them; that slight delay was the signal for their destruction. While Grant's men with guns leveled and fingers pressing the trigger, shouted to them to jump, their own troops massed in the rear, poured a volley into them, killing or wounding all but a few, who dropped with the rest and crawled in under Grant's guns, while his troops instantly began firing.

The battle, which during the morning raged with more or less violence on the right and left of this position, gradually slackened and attention was concentrated upon the Angle. So continuous and heavy was Grant's fire that the head logs of the breastworks were cut and torn until they resembled hickory brooms. Several oak trees, which grew just in the rear of the works were completely gnawed off by the Union converging fire, and about three o'clock fell among the Confederates with a loud crash. The stump of one of these trees is preserved in Washington. In his official report Brigadier General McGowan, who commanded Wilcox's Confederate division, says: "To give some idea of the intensity of Grant's fire, an oak tree twenty-two inches in diameter, which stood just in the rear of the right of the brigade, was cut down by the constant scaling of rifle balls, and fell about 3 o'clock Thursday night, injuring by its fall several soldiers in the First South Carolina regiment."

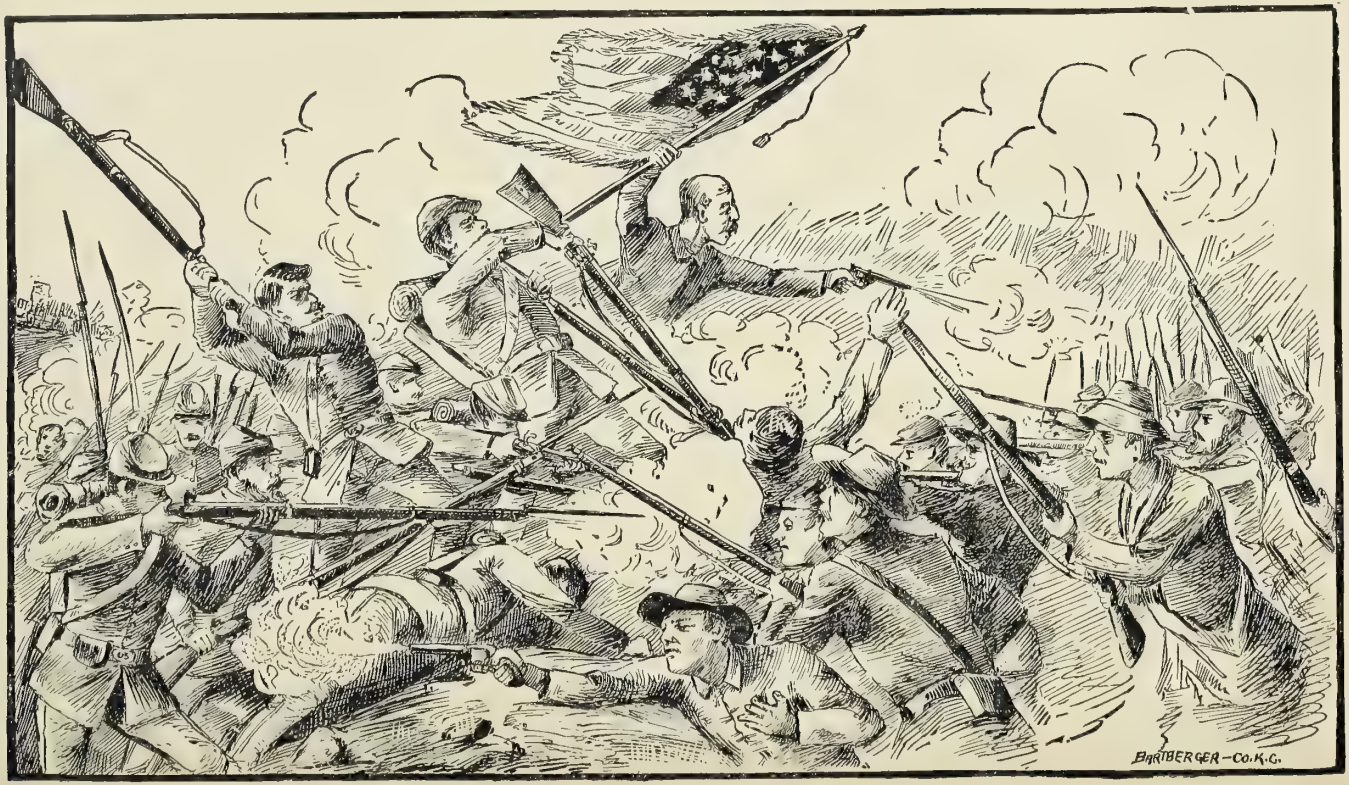
Towards dark preparations were made to relieve the Union troops. By this time they were nearly exhausted and had fired three to four hundred rounds of ammunition per man. Their lips were encrusted with powder from biting cartridges. Their rifles at times would become choked with burnt powder, and would receive the cartridge but half way. This fact, however, did not interfere with their discharge. Their shoulders were coated with mud, that had adhered to the butts of their rifles.

The troops of the second corps, who were to relieve them,

now moved up, took their position and opened fire as the relieved men fell back a short distance to re-arrange their shattered ranks and get something to eat, which they were sadly in need of. When darkness came on they dropped from exhaustion. About midnight, after twenty hours of constant fighting, Lee withdrew from the contest, leaving the Angle in the possession of the Union forces. Thus closed the battle of the second day of Spotsylvania.

On the 13th, early in the day, Union volunteers were called for to bury the dead. Those high in rank volunteered to assist, and with the detail moved to the works near the Angle, in front of which they buried a number of bodies near where they fell. They were exposed to the fire of Confederate sharpshooters, and it was still raining. They cut the name, company, and regiment of each of the dead on the lids of ammunition boxes, which they picked up near by. The inscriptions were not fully executed for they were cut with a pocket knife. This work ended, they went close up where they had fought on Thursday, and reviewed the spot appropriately called the "Slaughter Pen," or "Bloody Angle."

A momentary gleam of sunshine through the gloom of the sky seemed to add a new horror to the scene. Hundreds of Confederates, dead or dying, lay piled over one another in those pits. The fallen lay three or four feet deep in some places, and with but few exceptions, they were shot in and about the head. Arms, accouterments, ammunition, cannon, shot and shell, and broken foliage were strewn about. With much labor a detail of Union soldiers buried the Confederate dead by simply turning the captured breastworks upon them. Thus had these unfortunate victims unwittingly dug their own graves. The Confederate, General McGowan, officially said: "The trenches on the right in the Bloody Angle ran with blood, and had to be cleared of the dead bodies more than once." The trenches were really filled with muddy water. It was the most horrible battle scene ever witnessed, only equalled, perhaps, in the dead and dying that appeared, after Napoleon's famous charge at Waterloo.



BATTLE OF SPOTSYLVANIA.

The Confederate defenses at this point were elaborately constructed with heavy timber, banked with earth to the height of about four feet. Above this was placed what is known as a head log, raised just high enough to enable a rifle to be inserted between it and the lower work. Pointed pine and pin oak formed an abatis, in front of which was a deep ditch. Shelves ran along the inside ledges of these works, a series of square pits, and along their flank traverses, which extended to the rear. Upon these shelves large quantities of buck, and ball, and Minnie cartridges were piled ready for use, and the guns of the dead were still pointing through the apertures, just as the men had fallen from them. The loss on each side in the bloody battle of Spotsylvania Court House was about 20,000 men, making a total of killed, wounded, and missing of 40,000 men.

Grant again moved to the left, crossed the Pamunky, and came to Cold Harbor, twelve miles Northeast of Richmond. Here, on the 1st of June, he attacked the Confederates, but was repulsed with heavy losses. On the morning of the 3d, the assault was renewed, and in half an hour nearly 10,000 Union soldiers fell dead or wounded before the Confederate entrenchments. The repulse of the Federals was complete, but they held their lines as firmly as ever.

General Grant now changed his base to James River. General Butler had already taken City Point and Bermuda Hundred. Here, on the 15th of June, he was joined by General Grant's whole army, and the combined forces moved forward and began the siege of Petersburg.

Meantime, important movements were taking place on the Shenandoah. When Grant removed from the Rapidan, General Sigel marched up the valley to New Market, where he was met and defeated by the Confederate cavalry under General Breckinridge. The latter then returned to Richmond, whereupon the Federals faced about, overtook the Confederates at Piedmont, and gained a signal victory. From this place, Generals Hunter and Averhill advanced against Lynchburg. By this movement the Valley of the Shenandoah was again exposed to invasion.

Lee immediately dispatched General Early to cross the Blue Ridge, invade Maryland, and threaten Washington City. With 20,000 men Early began his march, and on the 5th of July, crossed the Potomac. On the 9th, he defeated the division of General Wallace, on the Monocacy. But the battle saved Washington and Baltimore from capture.

General Wright followed Early as far as Winchester, but the latter wheeled upon him, and the Union troops were driven across the Potomac. Early next invaded Pennsylvania, and burned Chambersburg. General Grant now appointed General Philip H. Sheridan to command the army of the Upper Potomac. The troops placed at his disposal numbered nearly 40,000. On the 19th of September, Sheridan marched upon Early at Winchester, and routed him in a hard fought battle. On the 22d of August, he gained another complete victory at Fisher's Hill. Sheridan next turned about to ravage the valley. The ruinous work was fearfully well done. Nothing worth fighting for was left between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies. Maddened by his defeats, Early rallied his forces and again entered the valley. Sheridan had posted his army on Cedar Creek, and feeling secure, had gone to Washington. On the 19th of October, Early surprised the Union camp, captured the artillery, and sent the routed troops flying in the direction of Winchester. The Confederates pursued as far as Middletown, and there paused to eat and rest. On the previous night, Sheridan had returned to Winchester, and was now coming to join his army. He rode twenty miles at full speed, rallied the fugitives, and gained one of the most signal victories of the war, and completely ruined Early's army.

We give the story of Sheridan's ride, as related by Thomas Buchanan Read, which portrays vividly the wonderful energy of the man.

As Roscoe Conkling said of General Grant, so we can say of Sheridan: "He was not great in things promised or things written, but great in the arduous duties of things done."



SHERIDAN'S RIDE.

SHERIDAN'S RIDE.

Up from the South at break of day,
Bringing to Winchester fresh dismay,
The affrightened air with a shudder bore
Like a herald in haste, to the Chieftain's door,
The terrible grumble, and rumble, and roar,
Telling the battle was on once more,
And Sheridan twenty miles away.

And wilder still those billows of war
Thundered aloug the horizon's bar;
And louder yet, into Winchester rolled,
The roar of that red sea uncontrolled,
Making the blood of the listener cold,
As he thought of the stake in that fiery fray,
And Sheridan twenty miles away.

But there is a road from Winchester Town,—
A good, broad highway leading down;
And there, through the flush of the morning light,
A steed, as black as the steeds of Night,
Was seen to pass, as with eagle flight.
As if he knew the terrible need,
He stretched away with his utmost speed;
Hills rose and fell; but his heart was gay,
With Sheridan fifteen miles away.

Still sprung from those swift hoofs, thundering South,
The dust, like smoke from the cannon's mouth:
Or the trail of a comet, sweeping faster and faster,
Forboding to traitors the doom of disaster.
The heart of the steed, and the heart of the master
Were beating like prisoners assaulting their walls,
Impatient to be where the battle-field calls;
Every nerve of the charger was strained to full play,
With Sheridan only ten miles away.

Under his spurning feet, the road
Like an arrowy Alpine river flowed,
And the landscape sped away behind
Like an ocean flying before the wind;
And the steed, like a bark fed with furnace ire,
Swept on, with his wild eye full of fire.
But lo! he is nearing his heart's desire;
He is snuffing the smoke of the roaring fray,
With Sheridan only five miles away.

The first that the General saw were the groups
Of stragglers, and then the retreating troops:
What was done,—what to do,—a glance told him both,
And striking his spurs, with a terrible oath,
He dashed down the line, 'mid a storm of huzzas.
And the wave of retreat checked its course there, because
The sight of the master compelled it to pause.
With foam and with dust the black charger was gray,
By the flash of his eye, and his red nostril's play,
He seemed to the whole great army to say,
"I have brought you Sheridan all the way,
From Winchester down to save the day."

Hurrah, hurrah for Sheridan!
Hurrah, hurrah for horse and man!
And when their statues are placed on high,
Under the dome of the Union sky,—
The American soldiers' Temple of Fame,
There with the glorious General's name
Be it said in letters both bold and bright:
"Here is the steed that saved the day
By carrying Sheridan into the fight,
From Winchester,—twenty miles away!"

During all of that Fall and Winter Grant pressed the siege of Petersburg. On the 30th of July a mine was exploded under one of the forts; but the assaulting column was repulsed with heavy loss. On the 18th of August a division of the Union Army seized the Weldon Railroad and held it against several assaults. On the 28th of September Battery Harrison was stormed by the Federals, and on the next day General Paine's brigade carried the redoubt on Spring Hill. On the 27th of October, there was a battle on the Boydton road; and then the army went into Winter quarters. On the 27th of February Sheridan gained a victory over Early at Waynesborough, and then joined the Commander-in-Chief. On the 1st of April a severe battle was fought at Five Forks, in which the Confederates were defeated with a loss of six thousand prisoners. On the next day Grant ordered a general assault on the lines of Petersburg and the works were carried. On that night Lee's Army and the Confederate Government fled from Richmond; and on the following morning the city was entered by the Federal troops. The warehouses were fired by the retreating Confederates, and the better part of the city was reduced to ruins.

General Lee retreated as rapidly as possible to the Southwest. Once at Deatonsville, the Confederates turned and fought, but were defeated with great losses. For five days the pursuit was kept up, and then Lee was brought to bay at Appomattox Court House. There on the 9th of April, 1865, the work was done. Seeing that further resistance was useless, General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia, and the Confederacy was hopelessly overthrown. General Grant signalized the end of the strife by granting to his antagonist

the most liberal terms. How the Army of General Johnston was surrendered a few days later has already been narrated. After four dreadful years of bloodshed and sorrow, the Civil War was at an end.

The Northern Army lost in round numbers five hundred thousand men, and the Southern Army three hundred and fifty thousand; and the national debt had reached nearly three thousand millions of dollars.

CHAPTER XX.

COLORED MEN AS SOLDIERS.

"I will bring back the colors, or report to God the reason why," were the last words of Planciancois, before a cannon ball took off his head.

AS long as men love liberty, the War of the Revolution against the thraldom of the British Government, and the oppressive rule of King George, and the establishment of this, the grandest of all nations, will ever be regarded as the climax of courage and daring by those who participated in it, that has a record on the pages of history.

The first fatal collision and first gun fired that hastened the conflict was that of Crispas Attucks, a colored man, who was a leader of the patriot band, and one of the four killed outright by the British fire. This was March 5, 1770, at what is known as the "Boston Massacre." At the battle of Bunker Hill, Peter Salem, also a colored man, who so gallantly manned and defended the slight breastworks, shot dead Major Pitcairn, of the British Marines, who, in the final struggle, had scaled the redoubt, shouting, "The day is our own!" and was commanding the patriots to surrender, thereby probably gaining the battle. Nor will history forget to record that, as in the army at Cambridge, so also in this gallant band, the free Negroes of the Colony had their representatives. For the right of free Negroes to bear arms in the public defense was at that day as little disputed in New England as their other rights. They took their place not in a separate corps, but in the ranks with the white man; and their names may be read on the pension-rolls of the country, side by side with those of others soldier of the Revolution.

Negroes largely swelled the motley host of raw but gallant patriots suddenly collected around Boston by the tidings of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, and were freely admitted

in regiments mainly white; though Major Samuel Lawrence of Groton, Massachusetts, is reported as having, at an early day, commanded a company of Negroes in the Continental line. The inconsistency of employing slaves as such was so galling to their ideas of justice that they restricted themselves in this respect. But this rescript did not forbid the enlistment of Negroes, only those still held in bondage. Many were thereupon emancipated in order that they might lawfully serve in the patriot forces, and the tendency to recruit Negroes was very strong with the patriot recruiting-officers.

In the Continental Congress, Mr. Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, moved that all Negroes be dismissed from the patriot armies, and was supported therein by several Southern delegates; but the opposition was so formidable and so determined that the motion did not prevail. Negroes, instead of being expelled from the service, continued to be received, often as substitutes for ex-masters or their sons; and, in Virginia especially, it gradually became a custom among the superior race to respond to an imperative summons to the field, by giving an athletic slave his freedom on condition of his taking the place in the ranks assigned to his master.

It is stated that after the close of the war quite a number who had thus earned their freedom were constrained to sue for it; and that the Courts of the Old Dominion—which had not yet discovered that a slave has no will and so can make no legal binding contract—uniformily sustained the action, and gave judgment to compel the master to act as if he had been honest. The Legislature felt constrained in 1783, to provide by law that every slave who had enlisted upon the strength of such a promise should be set free accordingly; to which end the Attorney-General was required to commence an action in favor of every such patriot soldier thereafter unjustly restrained of his liberty, who should be entitled, upon due proof of his averment, not only to his freedom, but to damages for past injury in withholding and denying it.

South Carolina authorized the enlistment of slaves, who were to receive a daily pay of seven shillings and six pence.

Lord Dunmore, Royal Governor of Virginia, had ere this issued a proclamation of Martial law, wherein he called all persons capable of bearing arms to report to His Majesty's standard, as soon as may be, for the more speedy reducing of this Colony to a proper sense of their duty to His Majesty's Crown and dignity. Freedom was promised to the slaves who joined his cause and some of the Negroes listened to the voice of the Royal charmer! He at one time had large expectations of raising Black troops for King George; but he finally explained to his government "that a malignant fever has carried off an incredible number of our people, especially the Blacks. Had it not been for this horrid disorder, I am satisfied that I should have had two thousand Blacks; with whom I should have had no doubt of penetrating into the heart of this Colony."

Still Negroes were enlisted on both sides; in the North more on the side of Independence; while in the South a large number fled from plantation slavery to strike for King George, against their masters.

An official return of the Negroes serving in the army under Washington's command, soon after the battle of Monmouth, makes their number reach 755, and this was prior to any systematic effort to enlist them.

Rhode Island, in 1778, authorized a general enlistment of slaves for the patriot Army—every one to be free from the moment of enlisting and to receive pay, bounty etc., precisely like other soldiers. A colored regiment was raised under this policy, which fought bravely at the battle of Rhode Island, and elsewhere; as many of those composing it had done prior to its organization. Massachusetts, New York and other States followed the example of Rhode Island, in offering liberty to slaves who would enlist in the patriot armies; and the policy of a general freeing and arming of able and willing slaves, was urged by Hon. Henry Laurens of South Carolina, by his son, Colonel John Laurens, by Colonel Alexander Hamilton, General Lincoln, James Madison, General Green and other ardent patriots. It is highly probable that had the Revolu-

tionary War lasted a few years longer, it would then have abolished slavery throughout the Union. Sir Henry Clinton, the King's Commander in the North, issued a proclamation, premising that the ememy had adopted a practice of enrolling Negroes among their troops; and thereupon offering to pay for all Negroes taken in arms, and guaranteeing to every one who should desert the "Rebel" standard full security to follow within these lines any occupation which he shall think proper. Lord Cornwallis, during his Southern campaign, proclaimed freedom to all slaves who would join him; and his subordinates —Tarleton especially—took away all who could be induced to to accompany them. Jefferson, in a letter to Dr. Gordon, estimates that this policy cost Virginia no less than thirty thousand slaves in one year, most of them dying soon of small-pox and camp fever. Thirty were carried off by Tarleton from Jefferson's own homestead; and Jefferson characteristically says: "Had this been to give them freedom, he would have done right."

The war of 1812 with Great Britain was much shorter than that of the Revolution, and was not like that, a struggle for life or death. Yet, short as it was, Negro soldiers—who, at the outset, would doubtless have been rejected—were in demand before its close. New York authorized the raising of two regiments of "freemen of color"—to receive the same pay and allowances as whites—and provided that "any able bodied slave" might enlist therein "with the written assent of his master or mistress," who was to receive his pay aforesaid, while the Negro received his freedom, being manumitted at the time of his honorable discharge. General Jackson's employment of Negroes in his famous defense of New Orleans—his public and vigorous reprobation of the "mistaken policy" which had hitherto excluded them from the service, and his emphatic attestation of their bravery and good conduct while serving under his eye—are too well known to require citation or comment.

General Hunter, while in command at Hilton Head, was the first to direct the organization of colored men as soldiers, soon

after issuing his order of general Emancipation throughout his department. We make the following extract from a letter written by General Hunter to Mr. Wickliffe, relative to the enlistment of colored troops; "The experiment of arming the Negroes, so far as I have made it, has been a complete and even marvelous success. They are sober, docile, attentive and enthusiastic; displaying great natural capacities for acquiring the duties of the soldier. They are eager beyond all things to take the field and be led into action, and it is the unanimous opinion of the officers who have had charge of them, that in the peculiarities of this climate and country, they will prove invaluable auxiliaries—fully equal to the similar regiments so long and successfully used by the British authorities in the West India Islands.

"In conclusion, I would say it is my hope—there appearing no possibility of other re-enforcements, owing to the exigencies in the Peninsula, to have organized by the end of next Fall, and to be able to present to the Government, from 48,000 to 50,000 of these hardy and devoted soldiers."

Meantime, Brigadier-General Phelps, commanding under General Butler at Carrollton, Louisiana, found his camp continually beset by fugitives from slavery on the adjacent plantations, but especially from that of Mr. B. La Blanche, a wealthy and eminent sugar planter just above New Orleans—who, it appears, being vexed by military interference with the police of his plantation, had driven off all his Negroes, telling them to go to their friends, the Yankees.

General Phelps in his report to General Butler as to the necessity of adopting a decided Anti-Slavery policy, says: "The enfranchisement of the people of Europe has been, and is still going on, through the instrumentality of military service; and by this means the slaves of the South might be raised in the scale of civilization and prepared for freedom. Fifty regiments might be raised among them at once, which could be employed in this climate to preserve order, and thus prevent the necessity of retrenching our liberties, as we should do by a large army exclusively of whites. For it is evident

that a considerable army of whites would give stringency to our Government; while an army partly of Negroes would naturally operate in favor of freedom and against these influences which at present most endanger our liberties. At the end of five years, they could be sent to Africa, and their places filled with new enlistments."

On the reception at Richmond of tidings of General Hunter's and General Phelps' proceedings with reference to the enlistment of Negro soldiers for the Union Armies, Jefferson Davis issued an order directing that said Generals be no longer regarded as public enemies of the Confederacy, but as outlaws; and that, in the event of the capture of either of them, or of any other commissioned officer employed in organizing, drilling or instructing slaves, he should not be treated as a prisoner of war, but held in close confinement for execution as a felon, at such time and place as he (Davis) should order. It is not recorded that any one was ever actually hung under this order.

So long as the ranks of the Union Armies were satisfactorily filled by volunteering alone, and whites stood ready to answer promptly every requisition for more men, Negroes or mulattoes were not accepted as soldiers; though they were, as they had ever been, freely enlisted and extensively employed in the Navy with the same pay and allowances as whites. At no time during the war was a colored person, if known as such, accepted—as many had been throughout our own Revolutionary war—for service in a regiment or other organization preponderantly white. But no sooner had McClellan's campaign against Richmond culminated in disaster, and a requisition been made upon the loyal States for 600,000 more recruits to our Armies, rendering conscription in some localities unavoidable, than the barriers of caste began to give way, and Negro soldiers were accepted.

By a section of the Act of 1862, persons of "African descent" were to be paid ten dollars per month, three dollars of it in clothing; while the pay of the white soldiers was thirteen dollars per month, beside clothing. Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, on his solicitation, was authorized by Secre-

tary Stanton to raise of three years' men "volunteer companies of artillery for duty in the forts of Massachusetts and elsewhere, and such companies of infantry for the volunteer military service as he may find convenient, and may include persons of African descent, organized into separate corps." Under this order Governor Andrew proceeded to raise two full regiments of Blacks, known as the Fifty-fourth and Fifty-fifth Massachusetts, which in due time were mustered without objection into the service of the Union, and there won honorable distinction. When, at length, the paymaster made his usually welcome appearance at their camp and offered them ten dollars per month, they refused to accept that or anything less than the regular pay of the soldiers of the United States, and a tender of the State to make good the difference between what they were offered and what they demanded, they declined; going wholly without pay for more than a year in order to establish their right to be regarded, not especially as Negroes, but as men.

Those who, being hopelessly disabled by wounds or by disease, received honorable discharges from the service, did accept what was offered them by the Federal paymaster, and the residue of their full pay from Major Sturgis, agent of the State. At last, after repeated and most urgent representations to the War Department by Governor Andrew, and upon the opinion of Attorney General Bates, that they were legally entitled to it, they received from the United States the full pay they had persistently claimed, and Reverend Samuel Harrison, the colored Chaplain of the Fifty-fourth, being refused by the United States paymaster the regular pay of a Chaplain because of his color, or because of that of his regiment, appealed to Governor Andrew; on whose representation and advocacy, backed likewise by Judge Bates' opinion as Attorney General, he was ultimately paid in full. And finally it was by Congress enacted, "That all persons of color who were free on the 19th day of April, 1861, and who have been enlisted and mustered into the military service of the United States, shall from the time of their enlistment, be entitled to receive the pay, bounty, and

clothing allowed to such persons by the laws existing at the time of their enlistment."

When the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts were ready, in May 1863, to proceed to the seat of war in South Carolina, application was made in their behalf to the Chief of Police of New York for advice as to the propriety of taking that city in their route, and marching down Broadway. He responded that they could not be protected from insult and probably assault if they did so. They thereupon proceeded wholly by water to their destination. Within seven or eight months thereafter, two New York regiments of colored soldiers, raised by volunteer efforts mainly by the Loyal League, though discountenanced by Governor Seymour, marched proudly down Broadway and embarked for the seat of War, amid the cheers of enthusiastic thousands and without eliciting one discordant hiss.

The use of Negroes, both free and slave, for belligerent purposes, on the side of the Rebellion, dates from a period anterior to the outbreak of actual hostilities. So early as January 1, 1861, a dispatch from Mr. Riordan, at Charleston, to Hon. Percy Walker, at Mobile, exultingly proclaimed that, "Large gangs of Negroes from plantations are at work on the redoubts, which are substantially made of sand bags and coated with sheet iron."

A Washington dispatch to the New York Evening Post, about this time, set forth that—"A gentleman from Charleston says that everything there betokens active preparations for fight. The thousand negroes busy in building batteries, so far from inclining to insurrection, were grinning from ear to ear at the prospect of shooting the Yankees."

The Charleston Mercury of January 3d, said: "We learn that 150 able bodied free colored men, of Charleston, yesterday offered their services gratuitously to the Governor, to hasten forward the important work of throwing up redoubts wherever needed along our coast."

The Legislature of Tennessee, that negotiated that State out of the Union, by secret treaty with the Confederate executive, passed an act authorizing the Governor, Mr. Harris, "to

receive into the military service of the State all male free persons of color, between the ages of 15 and 20."

These colored soldiers were to receive eight dollars per month, with clothing and rations. The Sheriff of each County was required, under the penalties of misdemeanor, to collect and report the names of all such persons; and it was further enacted, "That, in the event that a sufficient number of free persons of color to meet the wants of the State, shall not tender their services, the Governor is empowered through the Sheriffs of the different Counties to *press* such persons until the requisite number is obtained."

The Memphis Avalanche joyously proclaimed that, "A procession of several hundred stout Negro men, members of the 'domestic institution,' marched through our streets yesterday in military order, under command of Confederate officers. They were all armed and equipped with shovels, axes, blankets, etc. A merrier set were never seen. They were brimful of patriotism, shouting for Jeff. Davis and singing war songs." And four days later it again said: "Upward of one thousand Negroes, armed with spades and pickaxes, have passed through the city within the past few days. Their destination is unknown; but it is supposed that they are on their way to the other side of Jordan." The drafting of colored men, and especially of slaves, by thousands to work on Confederate fortifications, was, in general, rather ostentatiously paraded through the earlier stages of the war. A paper published at Lynchburg, Virginia, had as early as April, chronicled the volunteered enrollment of seventy of the free Negroes of that place to fight in defense of their State; closing with, "Three cheers for the patriotic free Negroes of Lynchburg."

The next recorded organization of Negroes, especially as Confederate soldiers, was at Mobile, towards Autumn, and two or three months later, the following telegram was flashed over the length and breadth of the rejoicing Confederacy:

"New Orleans, November 23, 1861.—Over 28,000 troops were reviewed to-day by Governor Moore, General Lovell and

General Ruggles. The line was over seven miles long. One regiment comprised 1,400 free colored men."

The Confederate Legislature of Virginia was engaged, so early as February 4, 1862, on a bill to enroll all the free Negroes in the State for service in the Confederate forces; which was favored by all who discussed it, when it passed to its engrossment and probably became a law. All these and many kindred movements in the same direction, preceded Mr. Lincoln's first, or premonitory, Proclamation of Freedom, and long preceded any organization of Negro troops to fight for the Union. The credit of having first conquered their prejudices against the employment of colored men, as soldiers, is fairly due to the Confederates. Had the colored people with equal facility overcome their repugnance to fighting for their own enslavement, the colored soldiers in the Confederate armies might soon have been very little inferior to the white either in numbers or efficiency.

Yet Mr. Lincoln's initial proclamation, aforesaid, had hardly been diffused throughout the Confederacy, when measures of deadly retaliation and vengeance were loudly pressed on every hand. That a government struggling against a Rebellion founded on slavery, should threaten to fight the consequence, through the cause, was esteemed an immeasurable stretch of presumption. The following dispatch aptly embodies the prevailing sentiment:

CHARLESTON, South Carolina, October 13, 1862.

Hon. Wm. P. Miles, Richmond, Virginia:

"Has the bill for the execution of Abolition prisoners, after January next, been passed? Do it; and England will be stirred into action. It is high time to proclaim the black flag after that period. Let the execution be with the garrote."

Signed, G. T. BEAUREGARD.

The Confederate Congress took up the subject soon afterward, and, after protracted consideration, ultimately disposed of it by passing a series of resolutions, closing as follows: "Section 7. All Negroes and mulattoes, who shall be engaged in war, or be taken in arms against the Confederate States, or

shall give aid or comfort to the enemies of the Confederate States, shall, when captured in the Confederate States, be delivered to the authorities of the State or States in which they shall be captured, to be dealt with according to the present or future laws of such State or States."

The connection between the premises here alleged, and the action based thereon, is by no means obvious. For more than two years, Negroes had been extensively employed in belligerent operations by the Confederacy. They had been embodied and drilled as Confederate soldiers, and had paraded with white troops, at a time when this would not have been tolerated in the armies of the Union. Yet, in the face of these notorious facts, it was provided in Section 4, "That every white person, being a commissioned officer, or acting as such, who, during the present war, shall command *Negroes* or *mulattoes* (whether slaves or not), in arms against the Confederate States, shall, if captured, *be put to death*, or otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court."

Some of the leading and most thorough Confederate journals, on reflection, admitted that this was unjustifiable; that the Confederacy could not prescribe the color of citizens of the Free States, never in bondage at the South, whom our Government might justifiably employ as soldiers. But the resolve, nevertheless, stood for years, if not to the last, unrepealed and unmodified, and was the primary fundamental impediment whereby the exchange of prisoners between the belligerents was first interrupted; so that tens of thousands died of exposure and starvation, who might else have been living to this day.

Secretary Stanton, having learned that three of our colored soldiers, captured with the gunboat Isaac Smith, in Stone River, had been placed in close confinement, ordered three of our prisoners (South Carolinians), to be treated likewise, and the fact to be communicated to the Confederate leaders. The *Richmond Examiner*, commenting on this relation, said:

"It is not merely the presention of a regular Government affecting to deal with 'Rebels,' but it is a deadly stab which they are driving at our institutions themselves, because they

know that if we were insane enough to yield this point, to treat Black men as the equals of white, and insurgent slaves as equivalent to our brave soldiers, the very foundation of slavery would be fatally wounded."

After one of the conflicts before Charleston, and in the exchange of prisoners which followed, only whites made their appearance, and this was probably the impulse to the following General Order, signed by President Lincoln: "It is the duty of every Government to give protection to its citizens of whatever class, color or condition, and especially to those who are duly organized as soldiers in the public service. The laws of nations, and the usages and customs of war, as carried on by civilized powers, permit no distinction as to color in the treatment of prisoners of war as public enemies. To sell or enslave any captured person, on account of his color, and for no offense against the laws of war, is a relapse into barbarism, and a crime against the civilization of the age.

"The Government of the United States will give the same protection to all its soldiers; and if the enemy shall sell or enslave any one because of his color, the offense shall be punished by retaliation upon the enemy's prisoners in our possession.

"It is, therefore, ordered that, for every soldier of the United States killed in violation of the laws of war, a Rebel soldier shall be executed; and for every one enslaved by the enemy or sold into slavery, a Rebel soldier shall be placed at hard labor on public works, and continued at such labor until the other shall be released, and receive the treatment due to prisoners of war."

The regularly authorized, avowed employment of colored men in the Union armies—not as menials, but as soldiers, may be said to have begun with the year 1863—that is, with the issue of the President's absolute Proclamation of Freedom. From an early hour of the struggle, the public mind slowly and steadily gravitated toward the conclusion that the Rebellion was vulnerable only or mainly through Slavery, but that conclusion was scarcely reached by a majority before the occurrence of

the New York riots in 1863. The President, though widely reproached with tardiness and reluctance in taking up the gage plainly thrown down by the Slave Power, was probably ahead of a majority of the people of the loyal States in definitely accepting the issue of Emancipation or Disunion.

Having taken a long step in the right direction, he never retracted nor seemed to regret it, though he sometimes observed that the beneficial results of the Emancipation policy were neither so signal nor so promptly realized as its sanguine promoters had anticipated. Nevertheless, on the day appointed, he issued his absolute Proclamation of Freedom, as follows:

"Whereas, on the 22d day of September, in the year of our Lord 1862, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing among other things, the following, to-wit:

" 'That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

" 'That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State, and the people thereof, are not then in rebellion against the United States.'

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Com-

mander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and Government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said Rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaim for the full period of one hundred days from the date first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively on this day are in rebellion against the United States, the following to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemine, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans,) Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty eight counties designated West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth,) and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

"And, by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free, and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

"And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self defense; and I recommend to them that in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

"And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

"And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington, this 1st day of January, in the year of our Lord 1863, and of the independence of the United States the 87th.

By the President

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. [L. S.]

By WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State.

Mr. Stanton's first order to raise in the loyal States three years' men, with express permission to include persons of "African descent" was that issued to Governor Andrew, January 26th, of this year; which was promptly and heartily responded to. In March, General Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General of our Army, was dispatched from Washington to the Mississipi Valley, there to initiate and supervise the recruiting and officering of colored regiments — a duty which he discharged with eminent zeal and efficiency; writing and laboring at Memphis, Helena, and other points where Negroes were congregated, addressing them in exposition of the Emancipation policy, and urging them to endorse it by rallying to the flag of their country. To our officers and soldiers, in a speech at Lake Providence, Louisiana, he forcibly said:

"You know full well—for you have been over this country —that the Rebels have sent into the field all their available fighting men, every man capable of bearing arms; and you know that they have kept at home all their slaves for the raising of subsistence for their armies in the field. In this way they can bring to bear against us all the strength of their so-called Confederate States; while we at the North can only send a portion of our fighting force, being compelled to leave behind another portion to cultivate our fields and supply the wants of an immense army. The Administration has determined to take from the Rebels this source of supply—to take

their Negroes and compel them to send back a portion of their whites to cultivate their deserted plantations—and very poor persons they would be to fill the place of the dark hued laborer. They must do this or their armies will starve.

"All of you will some day be on picket duty; and I charge you all, if any of this unfortunate race come within your lines, that you do not turn them away, but receive them kindly and cordially. They are to be encouraged to come to us; they are to be received with open arms; they are to be fed and clothed; they are to be armed."

There was still much prejudice against Negro soldiers among our rank and file, as well as among their superiors; those from New England possibly and partially excepted; but the Adjutant-General was armed with a potent specific for its cure. The twenty regiments of Negroes, which he was intent on raising, he had authority to officer on the spot from the white veterans at hand; and this fact, at least, until the commissions should be awarded, operated as a powerful antidote to anti-Negro prejudice. There were few, if any, instances of a white sergeant or corporal whose dignity, or whose nose, revolted at the proximity of colored men as private soldiers, if he might secure a Lieutenancy by deeming them not unsavory, or not quite intolerably so; while there is no case on record where a soldier deemed fit for a Captaincy in a colored regiment rejected it and clung to the ranks, in deference to his invincible antipathy to "Niggers."

Yet in spite of ugly epithets the work went on. Presently, a distinct Bureau was established, in the Adjutant-General's office at Washington, "for the record of all matters relating to the organization of colored troops; and a Board, whereof General Casey was President, organized for the strict examination of all candidates for commissions in colored regiments; by whose labors and investigations a higher state of average character and efficiency was secured in the officering of these than had been attained in the (too often hasty and hap-hazard) organization of our white regiments. In August, the Adjutant-General again visited the Great Valley on this business; and he

now issued from Vicksburg, an order which was practically a conscription of all able bodied male Negroes who should seek protection within the Union lines, and should not be otherwise employed, into the National service.

Next appeared an order from the War Department, establishing recruiting stations for Negro soldiers in Maryland, Missouri, and Tennessee, and directing the enlistment of volunteers of "all able bodied free Negroes," also the "slaves of disloyal persons [absolutely,] and slaves of loyal persons, with the consent of their owners," who were to be paid $300 for each slave enlisted, upon making proof of ownership and filing a deed of manumission. Thus the good work went on; until in December, '63, the Bureau aforesaid reported that over 50,000 had been enlisted and were then in actual service; and this number had been trebled before the close of the following year. And though some of our Generals regarded them with disfavor, while others were loud in their praise, it is no longer fairly disputable that they played a very important and useful part in the overthrow of the Rebellion. Though they were hardly allowed to participate in any of the great battles whereby the issue was determined, they bore an honorable part in many minor actions and sieges, especially those of 1864-5. In docility, in unquestioning obedience to superiors, in local knowledge, in capacity to endure fatigue, in ability to brave exposure and resist climatic or miasmatic perils, they were equal if not superior to the average of our white troops; in intelligence and tenacity, they were inferior; and no wise General would have counted a corps of them equal, man for man, in a great protracted battle to a like number of whites. Yet there were colored regiments above the average of whites in merit; and their fighting at Fort Wayne, Port Hudson, Helena, Mobile, and some other points, was noticed by their commanders with well deserved commendation. To exalt them to the disparagement of our white soldiers would be as unwise as unjust; but those whites who fought most bravely by their side will be the last to detract from the gratitude wherewith the Republic fitly honors all her sons



COLORED MEN ENGAGED IN BATTLE, PETERSBURG, VA.

who freely offered their lives for the salvation of their country.

We will now close the subject by giving a description of the largest Military school in the United States:

West Point is the site of the United States Military Academy, and a fortress erected during the War of Independence, on the right bank of the Hudson River, 52 miles north of New York. The Military Academy is on a plain 160 to 180 feet above the river, surrounded by the bold scenery of one of the finest river passes in the world. The forts and a river chain were taken by the British, in 1777, but abandoned after Burgoyne's surrender, and stronger forts were built, which General Arnold bargained to betray—a plot foiled by the arrest of Major Andre.

The Academy was established in 1802 for 40 cadet artillerists and 10 engineers. The number was increased in 1808, to 156, and in 1812, to 250. It is governed by a board of five visitors, and a staff of forty-one professors and teachers.

On the occurrence of a vacancy, any young man of good moral character, between seventeen and twenty-two years, and a citizen of the State or Congressional District from which he is selected, is eligible for appointment to West Point. The number of students who can be at the Academy at the same time is limited to 344. This includes one from each Congressional District of a State, one from each Territory, nominated by the delegate representing the Territory in Congress, one from the District of Columbia, and ten appointments by the President, indifferently, from all parts of the country.

The method of appointment is as follows: The member of Congress, representing a District, as soon as a vacancy occurs, nominates to the Secretary of War, for appointment, a young man of his district, who fills the legal requirements for entrance to West Point. This selection rests entirely with the Congressman, and his nomination, unless there is legal or other cause, under the regulations of the Academy to prevent, amounts to an appointment to a cadetship for the nominee, conditioned on his passing the physical and mental examination. Upon

his arrival at the Academy, he is subjected to a searching physical examination, by a board of three army medical officers.

It is required, in this examination, that the candidate shall be free from disability, of any kind, resulting from accidents; shall be sound in hearing, sight and speech; and generally of fairly robust and healthy constitution. If he passes this examination, the candidate is subjected to an academical examination for admission. This includes arithmetic, of which a familiar knowledge is required, grammar, writing, orthography and history. Of the last two, much stress is laid on that part of the subject which relates to our own country. These examinations are all conducted in writing; each candidate being given the same examination paper, and being permitted to occupy from three to five hours, according to the extent and nature of the subject. The examination is terminated by an examination in reading.

Those who are found by the examination to be not duly qualified to enter the Academy, are notified of their failure, and directed to proceed to their homes. The others take the oath of office as cadets, and later, when the academic year commences, are formed in sections of not to exceed ten cadets in each section, in which they attend recitations during the academic year, which, commencing on the 1st of September, continues till the 1st of June next following, with an intermission of half a month in January for the semi-annual examination. In June, the annual examination is held. At these examinations, cadets found deficient in their studies, are so declared after a critical examination, by the Academic Board, and are discharged or turned back to join the next succeeding class. Deficiency may result from want of ability in a special branch of study, from lack of application, or from sickness.

After the June examination, the first class—the one that has been in the Academy four years, is graduated, and its members are granted leave of absence for three months, during which time they receive their appointments in the army, depending on their standing as determined by their marks in

their studies, and by their examinations during the four years of their stay at the Academy. After this, as officers of the army, they have their own way to make, and we, so far as the purposes of this work is concerned, must bid them farewell. After the June examination, the new second class, or the one that has been in the Academy two years, is granted leave of absence which generally extends from June 15 to August 28. This last, the day for the return of the class, is imperative. Those who have seen the hearty, vigorous and joyous young furlough-man enjoying his leave, need not be told that he makes the most of the only vacation given him during his four years' stay at West Point. Now let us see as to the three classes left at the Academy. These are the new first class which entered as candidates a year ago, and the fourth class, just entered and passed the preliminary examination as heretofore described. Immediately after the examination is over, and the graduating and furlough classes have gone from West Point the other three classes are moved from barracks into camp.

The encampment continues from, say June 18 until August 29, the day after the return of the furlough class, and corresponds to the usual vacation at colleges. Here all studies and books, except such as the cadet chooses to draw from the library to read for recreation and improvement, are interdicted. Military duties and drill are alone attended to as duties, and the cadet is permitted to visit friends who may be at the post and to have parties, or hops, as they are called. This experience in social life is a great civilizer to the average young gentlemen, deprived of home influence, and makes a lasting impression for good. The studies pursued at West Point are not as some might imagine, wholly military. The first year the cadet is taught mathematics, including algebra, geometry, trigonometry, surveying and analytical geometry, and in modern languages French and English, besides receiving lectures in universal history. The next year is devoted to the more advanced course of mathematics to include calculus; completes the course in French and includes a preliminary course in

drawing. The third year the student is instructed in a course of natural and experimental philosophy, including astronomy; also in chemistry, mineralogy and geology, and completes the course of drawing. The fourth, or last year at Academy, is devoted to a course of civil and military engineering, and the science of war, the Spanish language, international, constitutional and military law and the outlines of the world's history. Each year tactics are taught, and the uses and methods of handling large guns and small arms, and practical instruction is given in military engineering and signaling. With this, the course of study is completed, and it is not too much to assert that the instruction given, is as thorough, if not more thorough, than to the average graduate at the best colleges.

The only intermission from the student's duties are on Saturday afternoon, which is at his disposal, except that he cannot go beyond the Government lands of the military reservation, and must attend the evening parade. Sunday is devoted to rest except that a military inspection under arms, and of the quarters or cadet's room in the morning, always takes place. Cadets are required to attend Divine service once during Sunday, at either a Roman Catholic or Protestant Chapel; both these services take place on Sunday morning at the post. For the rest the cadet is well fed and well clothed. Habits of industry are inculcated, in fact, are enforced, for without constant application no young man, be he ever so brilliant, can succeed in his studies. And this brings us to one additional matter to be explained in detail. That is, the classes for recitation, or, as known at West Point the sections. On entrance to the Academy each class is divided into sections of not more than ten cadets in each. These are arranged alphabetically at first, but as the intelligence and aptitude of the members of the class are developed, are rearranged according to merit, in studies. This arrangement is maintained during the stay of the class at the Academy by transfers from one section to another, as a student develops more or less aptitude in his progress in the course. For each cadet who is transferred from a higher to a lower section, there is one whose transfer takes

place from a lower to a higher, and thus the equality of the sections is maintained. As soon as a cadet recites he is marked in a book kept for the purpose on the merit of his recitation on a scale of tenths from three, which is a maximum mark, and indicates a perfect knowledge, to zero, which indicates a complete failure. A mark of two, indicates an indifferent recitation, and with such an average for the year the student must pass a good examination, or be declared deficient. The incentive to study is the daily mark received on the recitation, which determines the standing of the individual in his class and the consciousness of duty well done. A cadet is never absent or excused from a recitation, except for sickness, save in the first class year, when military duty employs one cadet each day. Let us now turn to the military organization of the corps of cadets and the arrangements for the maintenance of discipline. All the cadets of the Academy are arranged in four companies. These companies and the battalion into which they are formed are officered by cadets selected as officers for their military bearing and excellent conduct. From the oldest, or first class, the captains and lieutenants are appointed; from the second class, the sergeants; and from the third class the corporals. These cadet officers maintain the discipline and interior management of the corps, and enforce the regulations. The battalion is officered in addition by a cadet, adjutants and quarter, master and by a sergeant major, and quartermaster sergeant. These conduct all the military duties in the nature of guard mounting and parades. On duty with the battalion, are army officers whose service is of a supervisory character, and who are charged with the instruction of the cadets in military matters. They are five in number and consist of a commandant or instructor in artillery, infantry and cavalry tactics and four assistant instructors of tactics. Each one of the assistants is specially charged with the care of a company. This includes the whole system of the military organization. Cadets preserve order and quiet in the barracks as they do in rank, under an organization which makes certain cadet officers responsible. As will be at once seen an organization such as this, must

depend for its perfection on the character of the students, and above all, on their honesty and veracity. These are, and must be unimpeachable. The word of a cadet is never questioned by the authorities, and, as a consequence a cadet of any experience at the Academy has never been known to tell a falsehood, or to try to deceive. No action is ever taken by the authorities which reflects in any way upon the honor of a cadet unless it is well assured that his honor is involved, when by the action of a court martial or the more summary procedure by the Secretary of War, the guilty one's connection with the Academy is severed.

As to the duties of the Academy, if they are severe, so are the benefits to the successful cadet great. From the time he enters as a cadet to the day of his graduation, all the necessary expenses of the cadet are borne by the Government. And when he has completed his course and received his diploma, unlike the college graduate, his career in a profession has already begun. He is at once commissioned as an officer, and the subsequent steps of promotion in an honorable calling depend not on the chances accruing from hard work, but on good conduct, and a fair attention to duty. If a graduate should choose, for any reason, to pursue another than the profession of arms, the Government offers no impediment to his wishes; but his resignation from the army in time of peace is accepted without question, and he is set free to adopt any profession, for success in all of which his education has undoubtedly amply qualified him. The hours of confinement and at study appear long, but the enforced exercise at the riding hall, or at drill, or in the gymnasium, keep the cadet in a perfect state of robust health, and build up the constitution, which, but for the regular hours and excellent and systematic course, might give way. A case of broken constitution resulting from the duties at West Point is unknown, while dozens of cases of impaired health built up to a vigorous state by the methods at the Academy are matters of record. The same course of instruction is given to all students. Nothing is elective. The graduates are commissioned in the army, according

to their class standing. Those who graduate near the head of the class may choose any corps or arm of the service, commencing with the engineer corps. As the vacancies in the army are filled, those who graduate lower down in a class have a less extensive field for choice, until at the foot the graduate is compelled, perhaps, to take his choice in a regiment in the line.



CHAPTER XXI.

BIOGRAPHIES OF NOTED ANTI-SLAVERY MEN.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right."

A HISTORY of the Colored Race in America would hardly be complete without a sketch of the life of this great champion of human rights, and friend of the Colored Race Abraham Lincoln, the author of that memorable document, the Emancipation Proclamation; and there is and always will be an inseparable tie binding the heart of this people to his name and memory. No man did more for the colored people, or loved them better than did he.

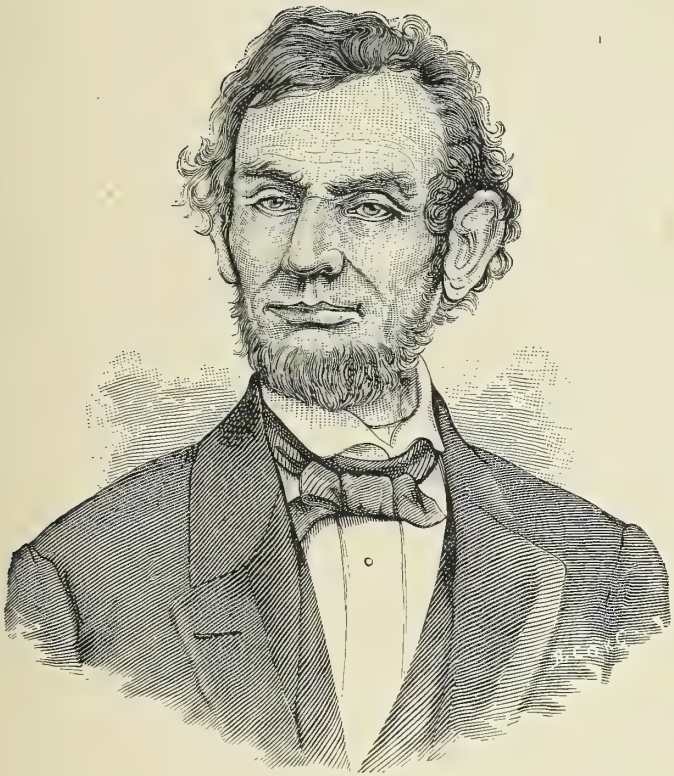
Our times have been marked from all other times, as the scene of an immense conflict which has not only shaken to its foundations our own country, but has been felt like the throes of an earthquake through all the nations of the earth.

Our own days have witnessed the closing of the great battle, but the preparations for that battle have been the slow work of years.

The "Men of Our Time" are the men, who indirectly, by their moral influence helped to bring on this great final crisis, and also those who, when it was brought on, and the battle was set in array, guided it wisely, and helped to bring it to its triumphant close.

Foremost on the roll of "Men of Our Time," it is but right and fitting that we place the honored and venerated name of the man who was called by God's Providence to be the leader of the Nation in our late great struggle, and to seal with his blood the proclamation of universal liberty in this country.

The revolution through which the American Nation has been passing, was not a mere local convulsion. It was a war



A. Lincoln

for a principle which concerns all mankind. It was a war for the rights of the working class of society, as against the usurpation of privileged aristocracies. You can make nothing else of it. That is the reason why, like a shaft of light in the Judgment day, it has gone through all Nations, dividing the multitudes to the right and to the left. For us and our cause all the common working classes of Europe—all that toil and sweat and are oppressed. Against us all privileged classes—nobles, princes, bankers and great manufacturers; all who live at ease. A silent instinct, piercing to the dividing of soul and spirit, joints and marrow, has gone through the earth and sent every soul with instinctive certainty where it belongs. The poor laborers of Birmingham and Manchester, the poor silk weavers of Lyons, to whom our conflict was present starvation and lingering death, have stood bravely for us. No sophistries could blind or deceive them; they knew that our cause was their cause, and they suffered their part heroically, as if fighting by our side, because they knew that our victory was to be their victory. On the other side, all aristocrats and holders of exclusive privileges, have felt the instinct of opposition, and the sympathy with a struggling aristocracy, for they, too, felt that our victory would be their doom.

This great contest has visibly been held in the hands of Almighty God, and is a fulfillment of the solemn prophesies with which the Bible is sown thick as stars, that He would spare the soul of the needy and judge the cause of the poor. It was He who chose the instrument for this work, and He chose him, with a visible reference to the rights and interests of the great majority of mankind for which He stood.

Lincoln was born to the inheritance of hard work, as truly as the poorest laborer's son that digs in our fields. He was born in Kentucky in 1809. At seven years of age he was set to work, axe in hand, to clear up a farm in a Western forest. Until he was seventeen, his life was that of a simple farm laborer, and the school instruction of his whole life would probably not amount to over six months. At nineteen, he made a trip to New Orleans on a flat-boat, and on his return he split

the timber for a log-cabin and built it, and enclosed ten acres of land with a rail fence of his own handiwork. The next year he hired himself for twelve dollars a month to build a flat-boat, and take her to New Orleans, and any one who knows what the life of a Mississippi boatman was in those days, must know that it involved every kind of labor. In 1832, in the Blackhawk Indian War the hardy boatman volunteered to fight for his country, and was unanimously elected a captain, and served with honor, for a season, in frontier military life. After this, while serving as a Postmaster, he began his law studies, and pursued them by the light of the evening fire. He soon acquired a name in the country about, as a man of resources, shrewdness and wisdom. He was in great request, and was looked to for counsel in exigencies, and one to whom they were ready to depute almost any enterprise which needed skill and energy, or patience and justice.

Mr. Lincoln was now about twenty-three. His life thus far may, perhaps, be considered as his education. His course of reading was a very thorough illustration of the ancient rule, to "read not many but much." He read seven books over and over; of three of them—the Bible, Shakespeare, and Æsop's Fables—he could repeat large portions by heart. The other four were the Pilgrim's Progress, and the life of Henry Clay, the life of Washington, and the life of Franklin.

It is a curious fact, that neither then or afterwards, did he ever read a novel. His education was almost entirely a newspaper one; he was one of the most thorough newspaper readers in America. All his life he maintained that course of steady labor after practical knowledge and practical wisdom. Whenever he could read a good book, he did, and his practice was, for a long time, after he had finished reading it, to write out an analysis of it. One of his companions described him in after-years, as "the likeliest boy in the world. He would work all day as hard as any of us, and study by fire-light in the log house half the night, and in this way he made himself a thorough, practical surveyor." Another man described him as he saw him, while working for a living, in 1830, "lying on a

trundle-bed, with one leg stretched out rocking the cradle containing the child of his hostess, while he himself was absorbed in the study of English grammar."

The world has many losses that mankind are not conscious of. The burning of the Alexandrian Library was an irreparable loss, but a greater loss is the silence of great and peculiar minds. Had there been any record of what Lincoln thought and said while he thus hewed his way through the pedantic mazes of book learning, we might have some of the newest, the strangest, the most original contributions to the philosophy of grammar and human language in general that ever have been given, but after his own quaint, silent fashion, he kept up his inquiries into the world of book learning with remarkable perseverance, and was thoroughly at home in all the liberal studies and scientific questions of the day. He was in the strictest sense a self-educated man; for what book learning he obtained would never have made him a lawyer, not to say President. The education which gave him his success in life, was his self training in the ability to understand and to state facts and principles about men and things.

In 1836, our backwoodsman, flat-boat hand, captain, surveyor, obtained a license to practice law, and as might be expected, rose rapidly. One anecdote will show the esteem in which he was held in his neighborhood. A client came to him in a case relating to a certain land claim, and Lincoln said to him, "Your first step must be to take thirty thousand dollars, and go and make a legal tender; it of course will be refused, but it is a necessary step." "But," said the man, "I haven't the thirty thousand dollars to make it with." "O, that's it; just step over to the bank with me, and I'll get it." So into the bank they went, and Lincoln said to the cashier, "We just want to take thirty thousand dollars to make a legal tender with; I'll bring it back in an hour or two." The cashier handed across the money to "Honest Abe," and without the scratch of a pen in acknowledgement he strode his way with the money, all in the most sacred simplicity, made the tender, and brought it

back with as much nonchalance as if he had been borrowing a silver spoon of his grandmother.

His honesty, shrewdness, energy and keen practical insight into men and things, soon made him the most influential man in his State—both as lawyer and politician. Of this influence, and most especially of its depending upon his wonderfully direct, plain, common sense, and the absolute honesty and utter justness of his mind, there are many anecdotes. In politics and in law alike, both the strength of his conscientiousness and the kind of yearning after a rounded wholeness of view, which was an intellectual instinct with him, forced him habitually to consider all sides of any question. For fifteen years before his election to the Presidency, he subscribed regularly to the Richmond Enquirer and Charleston Mercury. He grew slowly as public opinion grew, and as an Anti-Slavery man was a gradual convert. Thus it resulted that while Rhett and Wise with slavery in full feather, wrote every day the inviolateness of secession and the divinity of bondage, Lincoln, in his little law office, read every vaunting, cruel word, paid to read it, and educated himself in indignation.

In like manner he was fair and impartial in legal investigations; his fellow lawyers used to say that he was in professional matters "perversely honest." He never engaged on the wrong side knowingly. If a man desired to retain him whose cause was bad, he declined and told the applicant not to go to law. A lady once came to him to have him prosecute a claim to some land, and gave him the papers in the case for examination, together with a retainer in the shape of a check for two hundred dollars. Next day she came to see what her prospects were, when Mr. Lincoln told her that he had examined the documents very carefully, that she "had not a peg to hang her claim on," and that he could not conscientiously advise her to bring an action. Having heard this judgment the lady thanked him, took the papers and was about to depart, "wait a moment" said Lincoln, "here is the check you gave me." "But," said she, "Mr. Lincoln, I think you have earned *that*."

"No, no;" he answered, insisting on her receiving it,

"that would not be right, I can't take pay for doing my duty."

He was quite as prompt and just in accepting unprofitable duty as in declining its profitable opposite. During all the part of his legal practice in Springfield, it was considered an unpopular and politically dangerous business for a lawyer to defend any fugitive slave on trial for surrender to the South, and even the brave Colonel Baker in those days, also practicing there, on one occasion directly refused to defend such a case, saying that as a political man he could not afford it. But the luckless applicant having consulted with an abolitionist friend, went next to Lincoln, and got him. "*He's* not afraid of an unpopular case," said the friend. "When I go for a lawyer to defend an arrested fugitive slave, other lawyers will refuse me; but if Mr. Lincoln is at home, he will always take up my case."

In 1841, Mr. Lincoln argued before the Supreme Court of Illinois the case of Nance, a Negro girl, who had been sold within the State. A note had been given in payment for her, and the suit was brought to recover upon this note. Mr. Lincoln, defending, proved that Nance was free, and that thus nothing had been sold; so that the note was void. The Court below had sustained the note, but the Supreme Court, in accordance with Mr. Lincoln's argument, reversed this judgment. The decision made Nance free, and put a stop to the sales of human beings in Illinois.

Another remarkable case in which he was engaged, was the defense of young Armstrong from a charge of murder. This Armstrong was the son of a man who had befriended and employed Mr. Lincoln in youth, and the present charge was that he had killed a certain person, who had unquestionably died from injuries received in a camp-meeting riot where young Armstrong was present. The father was dead and the mother aged and poor. A chain of apparently perfectly conclusive circumstantial evidence had been forged, which had convinced the community of Armstrong's guilt. Indeed, had he not been safely secured in a strong jail he would have been

lynched. Neither the youth nor his old mother had any money. The people and the newspapers were furious against the prisoner; and his fate appeared absolutely certain even to himself, when Mr. Lincoln, hearing of the matter in some way, volunteered for the defense, and was gladly accepted. When the trial came on the evidence for the prosecution was given, and constituted what appeared to the audience a perfectly conclusive proof of guilt. Lincoln cross-examined very lightly, only collecting up and ascertaining a few places and dates; and his own witnesses were only to show comparatively good previous character of the prisoner.

The prosecution, sure of his prey, made only a short and formal argument. Mr. Lincoln followed for the defense. He began slowly, carefully, calmly; he took hold of the heart of the evidence for the State—that of the chief witness. He pointed out first one discrepancy, and then another, and then another. He came at last to the part of the evidence where this principal witness had sworn positively that he had been enabled by the light of the moon to see the prisoner give the fatal blow with a slug shot; and taking up the almanac he showed that at the hour sworn to, on the night sworn to, *the moon had not risen*; that the whole of this evidence was a perjury.

The audience, gradually stirred and changed in the temper of their minds by the previous series of skilfully displayed inconsistencies, rising from hate into sympathy, flamed suddenly up at this startling revelation and the verdict of "not guilty" was almost visible on the faces of the jury. But this was not all. Turning upon the infamous man who had sought to swear away another's life, Mr. Lincoln, now fully kindled into his peculiarly slow, but intensely fiery wrath, held him up to the view of the Court and jury and audience in such a horrid picture of guilt and shame, that the miserable fellow, stunned and confused, actually fled from the face of the incensed lawyer out of the Court room. And in conclusion, Mr. Lincoln appealed to the jury to lay aside any temporary prejudices, and to do simple justice. And he referred to the motive of his own presence

there—to his gratitude for the kindness of the prisoner's father in past years, in a manner so affecting as to bring tears to many eyes. In less than half an hour the jury returned a verdict of not guilty, and the young man was set at liberty, his life saved, and his character restored.

When he went for the second time into public life, on the passage of the Nebraska Bill, in 1854, he was becoming eminent in the difficult and lucrative department of patent law. But his fellow lawyers used to call his fees "ridiculously small." Indeed he never took but one large fee, and that his friends insisted on his taking. This was $5,000 from the Illinois Railroad Company, one of the richest corporations in the country, and for very valuable services in a very important case. Once before this he had received, what he thought a large fee, and he made good use of it. The sum was $500,—and a friend who called to see him next morning, found him counting it over and over, and piling it up on the table to look at. "Look here," he said, "see what a heap of money I've got from the case! Did you ever see anything like it? Why, I never had so much money in all my life before, put it all together!" Then he added, that if he could only get another $250 to put with it, he would buy a quarter section of land and settle it on his old stepmother. This was an odd use to make of a man's first important gains in money, and his friend, who at once loaned him the required additional amount, tried to make him give the land for the old lady's life only. But Lincoln insisted on his own plan, saying, "I shall do no such thing. It is a poor return at the best, for all the good woman's devotion and fidelity to me, and there isn't going to be any half-way work about it."

Mr. Lincoln was decidedly and deservedly a powerful as well as a successful lawyer. He must have been of great professional powers to maintain himself, and rise to the leadership of the bar, with the competitors he had. Among these were Mr. Douglas, Secretary Browning, Senator Trumbull, Governor Yates, Judge Davis, of the United States Supreme Court, Colonel Baker, General Hardin, Governor Bissell, General

Shields, Senator Washburn, N. B. Judd, General Logan and others. He became recognized by his fellow citizens as the "first lawyer in Illinois," and one of the Judges on the bench described him as "the finest lawyer he ever knew," and another as "one of the ablest he ever had known."

Mr. Lincoln's popularity among his neighbors, his assiduous study of the newspapers, his intense and untiring meditations and reasonings on the political questions of the day, brought him into the political field very early, and well prepared. It was in 1832 when he was twenty-three years old, that his first speech took place. The story and speech altogether are so short that they can be inserted here in full. On the day of election, then, Mr. Lincoln's opponent spoke first, and delivered a long harangue of the regular political sort. Lincoln, who followed him, completed his oration in just seventy-nine words—less than one minute's talking. This is what he said: "Gentlemen, fellow citizens,—I presume you know who I am; I am humble Abraham Lincoln. I have been solicited by many friends to become a candidate for the Legislature. My politics can be briefly stated. I am in favor of a National bank, I am in favor of the internal improvement system, and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles. If elected I will be thankful, if not, it will be all the same."

He was beaten, however, in spite of his terseness. But in his own district he received all but seven out of two hundred and eighty-four votes, and he was never beaten again in any election by the people.

His actual political career began in 1834, when he was chosen member of the State Legislature, and being too poor to afford a horse, walked over one hundred miles to Vandalia to take his seat. He remained a member for four successive terms, of two years each. Mr. Douglas became a member two years after him, in 1836; the two men quickly became party leaders of their respective sides of the house, and thus their political courses and their political rivalries began almost together.

On the question of slavery the one significant occasion for

utterance which arose was promptly improved, and in such a manner as to show both the settled feelings and convictions of Lincoln's mind on the subject, and his characteristic practice of restricting his utterances strictly to the exigencies of the case. His dislike of slavery was not only the consequence of his inborn sense of justice, and kindly feelings, but was his direct inheritance from his parents, who left Kentucky and settled in Indiana expressly to bring up their family on free instead of slave soil. In March, 1839, some strong pro-slavery resolutions were passed by the Legislature of Illinois. This, the few anti-slavery members could not prevent. But Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Daniel Stone took the most decided stand in their power on the other side, by putting on record on the house journals a formal protest against the resolution. In this protest they declared views that would to-day be considered very conservative, about legal or political interference with slavery; but they also declared in the most unqualified manner, and in so many words their belief, "that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy."

In the Presidential canvass of 1844 he made many strong and effective speeches for Henry Clay in Illinois and Indiana, and thereby increased his reputation as a politician and speaker.

In 1846, he was elected to Congress as a Whig, and, during this Congressional term, he met the grinding of the great questions of the day—the millstones of slavery and freedom revolving against each other. He was an advocate for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, and in various ways recorded his denial of the right of owning men or of its acknowledgement by the Nation. He afterward declined the Governorship of Oregon Territory and re-election to Congress, returned to his home, and labored industriously at his profession, until the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas–Nebraska bill, and the violences and iniquities connected with them called him once more into public life.

He now took the field heart and soul against the plot to betray our Territories into slavery, and to perpetuate that power

over the whole country. Henceforth he was all his life a public man; first a prominent champion in the decisively important State of Illinois, and afterwards the standard bearer and the Martyr of Freedom in America.

That contest in Illinois in which the political doctrines of Mr. Douglas were the central theme of discussion, and in which he himself on one side and Mr. Lincoln on the other, were the leading speakers and the controlling minds, was an important act in that great drama of emancipation which calminated in the Rebellion. These debates determined Mr. Lincoln's reputation as a speaker and public man, and lifted him to the position from which he stepped into the Presidential chair.

His first great public debate was at Springfield in October 1854, just after the passage of the Nebraska Bill. The country was all aflame with the excitement. Every fiber of justice, honor, honesty and conscience that there was in the community was in that smarting and vibrating state which follows the infliction of a violent blow, and Douglas had come back to his own State to soothe down the irritation and to defend his wicked and unpopular course before the aroused tribunal of his fellow citizens.

He was to defend his course and conduct to a great audience assembled at the State Fair and Mr. Lincoln was to answer him.

Mr. Douglas had a splendid physique with all the powers of the most captivating oratory. He was master of all those shadings of sophistry by which the worse can be made to appear the better reason. He had the power to make the false appear the truth, the latter he used sparingly as demagogues always do.

The first day in the fair, the multitude was given up to him, and he swept and played on them as a master musician sweeps a piano, and for the hour he seemed to be irresistibly bearing all things in his own way. The people had been amused, excited, dazzled and bewildered and were tossing restlessly, as the sea swells and dashes after a storm, when

that plain man without dazzle or oratory, or glitter of rhetoric, rose to give them in a fatherly talk the simple and eternal *right* of the whole thing.

It was, he felt, an hour of destiny—a crisis in the great battle to be fought for mankind for ages to come, and one eye witness thus describes the scene: "His whole heart was in the subject. He quivered with feeling and emotion; the house was as still as death." And another account describes how "the effect of this speech was most magnetic and powerful. Cheer upon cheer interrupted him. Women waved their handkerchiefs, men sprung from their seats and waved their hats in uncontrollable enthusiasm." It was so at Peoria and other places; Mr. Lincoln's high moral superiority carried conviction, and Douglas was vanquished.

When, in the Convention of 1856, the Illinois Convention met to choose delegates to the National Convention that nominated Fremont, there was in the political ocean a wild chaos of elements, and the leaders of the rapidly crumbling old parties sent for Lincoln for advice, as to the formation of a new party to unite the discordant elements, he quietly said: "Take the Declaration of Independence, and hostility to slavery extension. Let us build our new party on the rock of the Declaration of Independence, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against us." Mr. Lincoln's profound and unfailing moral sense had seized upon the relation between the heart of the United States and eternal right. His suggestion embodied the only doctrine that could have won in the coming battle. What he advised was done, and the party, on this platform, revolutionized Illinois, made Mr. Lincoln President, extinguished slavery and reorganized the Union.

As to Mr. Lincoln's position on the emancipation question, at the time of his celebrated debates with Mr. Douglas, in 1856, here is an interesting illustration of his firm adherence to principle. He said once, when contrasting himself and his antagonist, that he affected no contempt for the high eminence Mr. Douglas had attained, but he had rather stand on an eminence "so reached, that the oppressed of my species might

have shared with me in the elevation, than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a Monarch's brow." He then said he "could see no reason in the world why the colored man is not entitled to all the rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence,—the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In the right to eat the bread without the leave of anybody else, which his own hand earns; he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every other man."

The same primary granite substratum of moral right, of everlasting justice, underlaid all his speeches. It crops out here and there in passages, a specimen of which is worth quoting, not merely for the sake of their aptness then or now, but, also, as excellent patterns for the applications of moral principles to political practices,—a lesson peculiarly important in a Republic,—simply because its diligent employment is the sole possible basis of National strength and happiness. In a debate at Quincy, October 13, Mr. Lincoln stated a whole code of political ethics, along with its application to the case in hand, in one paragraph, as follows:

"We have in this Nation this element of domestic slavery. It is a matter of absolute certainty that it is a disturbing element. It is the opinion of all the great men who have expressed an opinion upon it, that it is a dangerous element. We keep up a controversy in regard to it. That controversy naturally springs from difference of opinion, and if we can learn exactly—can reduce to the lowest elements—what that difference of opinion is, I suggest that this difference of opinion, reduced to its lowest terms, is no other than the difference between the men who think slavery a wrong, and those who do not think it a wrong. The Republican party think it a wrong,—we thind it a moral, a social and political wrong. We think it is a wrong, not confining itself to the persons or States where it exists, but that it is a wrong in its tendency, that it extends itself to the existence of the whole Nation. Because we think it a wrong, we propose a course of policy that shall deal with it as a wrong. We deal with it as with any other wrong, in-

so-far as we can prevent its growing any larger, and so deal with it, that in the run of time, there may be some promise of an end to it. We have a due regard to the actual presence of it amongst us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. * * * * Where we suppose we have the constitutional right, we restrain ourselves, in reference to the actual existence of the institution and the difficulties thrown about it. We also oppose it as an evil, so far as it seeks to spread itself. We insist on the policy that shall restrict it to its present limits."

Still more sharply and strongly he stated the question in the last debate at Alton, as simply this: Is slavery wrong?

"That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of Kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit which says, 'You work and toil and earn bread and I'll eat it.' No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a King who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle."

The Cooper Institute speech was one of his greatest efforts, and was prepared with much care: a production of great power of logic, history and political statement. It consisted of an exposition of the true doctrines of the founders of our Nation, on the question of slavery, and of the position of the two parties of the day on the same question.

Its close was very powerful. After showing that the demands of the South were summed up in the requirement that the North should call slavery right instead of wrong, and

should then join the South in acting accordingly, he added: "If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored—contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man—such as a policy of 'don't care' on a question about which all true men do care—such as Union appeals, beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance—such as invocations of Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said, and undo what Washington did. Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it."

The words are singularly plain and homely, but the thoughts are noble and very mighty.

The story of the nomination at Chicago, the election, of the perilous journey to Washington need not be repeated.

Little did the convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln know what they were doing. Little did the honest, fatherly patriotic man, who stood in his simplicity on the platform at Springfield, asking the prayers of his townsmen and receiving their pledges to remember him, foresee how much he was to need those prayers, the prayers of all this Nation and the prayers of all the working, suffering common people throughout the world. God's hand was upon him with a visible protection, saving first from the danger of assassination at Baltimore, and bringing him safely to our National Capitol.

He was so kind hearted, so peaceable, so adverse either to cause or to witness controversy or wrath, that only the extremest need would force him to the point of wrath and fighting. But when the need was real, the wrath and the fight

came out. Whether moral or physical courage, upon a real demand for it, it never failed. On his flat-boat trip to New Orleans in his youth, he and his mate beat off seven marauders, who attacked and would have robbed their boat. When clerk in a country store he seized, flung down and subdued a bully who was insolent to some woman, and what is more, the beaten bully became his friend. He once, alone, by suddenly dropping from a scuttle down upon the platform, kept off a a gang of rowdies who were about to hustle his friend, Colonel Baker, off the stand. He and Baker once, with no others, escorted to the hotel, a speaker who was threatened with violence from a Democratic crowd whom he had offended. When some Irishmen at Springfield once undertook to take possession of the poll and restrict the voting to their friends, Lincoln, hearing of it, stepped into the first store, seized an axe helve, and marched alone through the turbulent crowd up to the poll, opening the road as he went; and alone he kept the ballot-box free and safe until the foolish crowd gave up their plan. His anger sometimes—though very seldom—flamed up at ill usage of himself; but never so hotly as at ill usage to others. When a poor Negro citizen of Illinois was imprisoned at New Orleans, simply for being a free Negro from outside of Louisiana, and was about to be sold into slavery to pay jail fees, Mr. Lincoln found that the Governor of Illinois could not help the poor fellow. When the fact became plain he jumped up, and swore. "By the Almighty," he said, "I'll have that Negro back, or I'll have a twenty years' agitation in Illinois, until the Governor *can* do something in the premises!" Somebody sent money and set the man free; or else the twenty years' agitation would have begun, and finished too.

In Mr. Lincoln's Administration, the world has seen and wondered at the greatest sign and marvel of our day, to-wit: A plain working man of the people, with no more culture, instruction or education than any such working man may obtain for himself, called on to conduct the passage of a great Nation through a crisis involving the destinies of the whole world. The eyes of princes, nobles, aristocrats, of dukes, earls, scholars,

statesmen, warriors, all turned on the plain backwoodsman with his simple sense, his imperturable simplicity, his determined self-reliance, his unimpeachable and incorruptible honesty, as he sat amid the war of conflicting elements with unpretending steadiness, striving to guide the National ship through a channel at whose perils the world's oldest statesmen stood aghast.

The brilliant courts of Europe levelled their opera glasses at the phenomenon. Fair ladies saw that he had horny hands, and disdained white gloves; dapper diplomatists were shocked at his system of etiquette, but old statesmen who knew the terrors of that passage, were wiser than court ladies and dandy diplomatists, and watched him with a fearful curiosity, simply asking, "will he get the ship through?" Sooth to say our own politicians were somewhat shocked at his State papers at first. "Why not let *us* make them a little more conventional and file them as a classical pattern?" "No," was his reply, "I shall write them myself. The people will understand them." And now as we view them in these later days, we find them, in most respects, absolutely perfect, and, since the time of Washington, no State papers of any President have more controlled the popular mind. Such are some passages of the celebrated letter to the Springfield Convention, especially that masterly one where he compares the conduct of the patriotic and loyal blacks with that of the treacherous and disloyal whites. No one can read this letter, and especially the passage mentioned, without feeling the influence of a mind both strong and generous.*

Of all traits, Mr. Lincoln's kindness was unquestionably the rarest, the most wonderful. It may be doubted whether any human being ever lived whose whole nature was so perfectly sweet with the readiness to do kind actions; so perfectly free from even the capacity of revenge. It really sometimes seemed as if he was more tender to individual lives than to multitudes of them, so nearly impossible was it for him to pronounce sentence of death or to forbear the gift of life. He

* We refer to the letter and chapter: "The Colored Man as a Soldier."

undoubtedly did harm by giving life to deserters, and thus weakening army discipline.

One of his generals once urgently remonstrated with him for rendering desertion safe, though it was seriously weakening the army. "Mr. General," said Mr. Lincoln, "there are already too many weeping widows in the United States. For God's sake don't ask me to add to the number—for I won't do it." Even to put a stop to the unutterable horrors which were slowly murdering our brave men in the Rebel prisons, he could not retaliate. He said, "I can never, never starve men like that. Whatever others may say or do, I never can, or I never will, be accessory to such treatment of human beings." Once, after the massacre at Fort Pillow, he pledged himself in a public speech that there should be a retaliation. But that pledge he did not keep.

At Philadelphia, where he was especially impressed with associations about the old Independence Hall, he said, speaking of that edifice, and standing within the old hall itself:

"All the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated in and were given to the world from this hall. I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence."

Then he referred to the doctrine of freedom in that instrument, and he said:

"But if this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle, I was about to say, I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. * * * I have said nothing but what I am willing to live by, and, if it be the pleasure of Almighty God, to die by."

These references to assassination and death were no casual flourishes of oratory. They were deliberate defiances of the fate which had already been denounced against the speaker, in public and in private, which continued to be threatened during all the rest of his life, and which finally actually befel him, but the fear of which never made him turn pale nor waver in his duty. Lover of freedom as he was, and believer in the

rights of man, he had always been invariably careful not to demand from the masses of men whom he sought to influence, more than they could be expected to give. And, in his first Inaugural, he went even further. He expressly and clearly avowed his intention to execute all that he had sworn, and maintain as far as he could national sovereignty and an unbroken Union, unless prevented by his rightful masters, the American people. He further says:

"Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? In our present differences is either party without faith of being in the right? If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with His eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail, by the judgment of the great tribunal of the American people."

The final paragraphs are sad and heavy with his unutterable longings and yearnings for peace; so that the words, plain and simple as they are, are full of deep and melancholy music:

"You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it.

"I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cord of memory, stretching from every battle field and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be by the better angels of our nature."

As the war went on the same unwavering decision, the same caution and kindness marked the whole action of the Executive. Especially were these traits exhibited in his dealings with the main question at issue—that of slavery.

On this point he bore a pressure such as it is safe to say no mortal son of earth ever bore before or since. The interests of suffering humanity, and all the classes that go to make up

human nature, all that loved liberty, truth and justice, were, at this period of history, condensed into one narrow channel, like that below Niagara, where the waters of all the great lakes are heaped up in ridges, and seem, in Scripture language, to "utter their voices and lift up their hands on high." Like the course of those heavy waters, the great cause weltered into a place where its course resembled that sullen whirlpool below the Falls; where the awful waters go round and round in blindly dizzy masses, and seem, with dumb tossings and dark agonies, to seek in vain for a clear, open channel. In this dread vortex, from time to time, are seen whirling helplessly the bodies of drowned men, fragments of wrecked boats, splintered and shattered, and trees torn to ghastly skeletons, which often dart up from the whirling abyss in a sort of mad, impatient despair.

So we can all remember, when the war had struggled on a year or two, when 100,000 men, the life and light and joy of as many families, who entered it warm with hope and high in aspiration, were all lying cold and low, and yet without the least apparent progress toward a result; when the resistance only seemed to have become wider, deeper, more concentrated, better organized by all that awful waste of the best treasures of the Nation; then was the starless night—the sorrow of the valley of the shadow of death. Above, darkness filled with whisperings, and jibes, and sneers of traitor friends; on one side a pit, on the other a quagmire, and in the gloom all faces gathered blackness, and even friends and partisans looked strangely on each other. Confidence began to be shaken. Each separate party blamed the other, as they wandered in the darkness. It was one of the strange coincidences which show the eternal freshness of Scripture language, in relation to human events, that the church lesson from the Old Testament as read in the churches the Sunday after the attack of Fort Sumter, was the prediction of exactly such a conflict:

"Prepare war, wake up the mighty men, let all the men of war draw near; Let them come up.

"Beat your plow-shares into swords, and your pruning hooks into spears; let the weak say, I am strong.

"Assemble yourselves, and come, all ye heathen, and gather yourselves together round about: thither cause Thy mighty ones to come down, O Lord.

"Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe: the press is full, the vats overflow; for their wickedness is great.

"Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision: for the day of the Lord is near in the valley of decision.

"*The sun and the moon shall be darkened, and the stars shall withdraw their shining.* The Lord also shall roar out of Zion, and utter His voice from Jerusalem; and the heavens and the earth shall shake: but the *Lord will be* the hope of His people and the strength of the children of Israel. So shall ye know that I am the Lord your God."

The repeated defeats, disasters and distresses that had come upon the Union cause stirred the conscience of all the religious portion of the community. They remembered the parables in the Old Testament where the armies of Israel were turned back before the heathen, because they cherished within themselves some accursed thing. They began to ask whether the Achan, who had stolen the wedge of gold and Babylonish vest in our midst, was not in truth the cause why God would not go forth with our armies! and the pressure upon Lincoln to end the strife by declaring emancipation, became every day more stringent; at the same time the pressure of every opposing party became equally intense, but the time for emancipation had not yet come.

No man in the great agony suffered more or deeper. "Which ever way it ends," he said once to a friend, "I have the impression that I shan't last long after it's over."

After the dreadful repulse of Fredericksburg, he is reported to have said, "If there is a man out of hell that suffers more than I do, I pity him."

In those dark days, his heavy eyes and worn and weary air, told how our reverses wore upon him. Many of his professed friends deserted him. A man called upon him about this time to

inform him that though so many were turning against him and proving untrue, he never would, but would be his friend always. Mr. Lincoln thanked him, and the next day the man left to join the Rebel Army. Sometimes the absolute confidence with which all contending sides urged their opinions and measures upon him, seemed to strike him with the solemn sense of the ludicrous. Thus when Doctor Cheever, at the head of a committee of clergymen, had been making a vigorous, authoritative appeal to him in Old Testament language, to end all difficulties by emancipation, Lincoln seemed to meditate gravely, and at last answered slowly, "Well gentlemen, its not very often that one is favored with *a delegation direct from the Almighty!*"

Washington was at this time one great hospital of wounded soldiers; the churches, the public buildings all filled with the maimed, the sick and suffering, and Lincoln's only diversion from the perplexity of state was the oversight of these miseries.

The Emancipation Proclamation—that one flag stone in the wide morass of despondency on which the wearied man at last set firm foothold, did not at first seem to be a first step into the land of promise.

It was uttered too soon to please some parties, too late to please others. In England it was received in the face of such military ill success, with the scoffing epigram that the President had proclaimed liberty in the States where he had no power, and retained slavery in those where he had. It is true, there was to this the sensible and just reply that he only gained the right to emancipate by this war power, and that of course this did not exist in States that were not at war.

The battle of Gettysburg was the first argument that began to convince mankind that Mr. Lincoln was right. It has been well said, that in this world nothing succeeds but *success.* Bonaparte professed his belief that Providence always went with the strongest battalions, and therein he expressed about the average opinion of this world. Vicksburg and Gettysburg changed the whole face of the Nation—they were the first stations outside the valley of the shadow of death.

The Nation took new courage—even the weary clamorers for peace began to shout on the right side and to hope that peace might come through Northern victory.

Lincoln was re-elected to the Presidential chair by an overwhelming majority. When the votes were being counted in New York late at night, and this victory became apparent, the vast surging assembly at the motion of one individual, uncovered their heads and sang a solemn Doxology—an affecting incident which goes far to show what sort of feelings lay at the bottom of this vast movement, and how profoundly the people felt that this re-election of Lincoln was a vital step in their onward progress.

His last inaugural has been called by one of the London newspapers, "the noblest political document known to history."

It was characterized by a solemn religious tone so peculiarly free from earthly passion, that, it seems to us now, who look back on it in the light of what has followed, as if his soul had already parted from earthly things, and felt the powers of the world to come. We give the following extracts from the address:

"On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to the impending Civil War. All dreaded it; all sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish and the war came.

"One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the

Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. * * * Both read in the same Bible and prayed to the same God, and each invoked His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. * * * * *

"If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses, which in the Providence of God must needs come, but which having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He now gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those living attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago; so, still it must be said, 'The Judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all Nations."

The following is his famous Gettysburg speech, which he wrote in a few moments while on his way to the celebration. It is remarkable, touching and eloquent:

"Fourscore and seven years ago, our Fathers brought forth on this continent a New Nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now, we are engaged in a great Civil War, testing whether that Nation, or any Nation so conceived and dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as the final resting place for those who here gave their lives that the Nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But in a larger sense *we* cannot dedicate; *we* cannot consecrate; *we* cannot hallow the ground. The brave men living and dead, who struggled here, *have* consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we *say* here, but it can never forget what they *did* here It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they, who fought here, have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead, we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of Freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

At Mr. Lincoln's few words, the audience cheered and sobbed and wept, and when he had ended, he turned and congratulated Mr. Everett on having succeeded so well. Mr. Everett replied with a truthful and real compliment: "Oh, Mr. Lincoln, how gladly would I exchange all my hundred pages, to have been the author of your twenty lines."

And now our Christian pilgrim having passed through the valley of the shadow of death, and slain the vanquished giants and dragons, at last had a little taste, a few days sojourn in the land of Beulah.

Cheer after cheer rose up and shook the land as by one great stroke after another, the awful convulsions of the conflict terminated in full, perfect, final victory.

Never did mortal man on this earth have a triumph more dramatic and astounding than Lincoln's victorious entry into Richmond.

At this moment of his life he could look back and see far behind him, the grave of the once brilliant Douglas, who died worn out and worn down with disappointed ambition, while he, twice elected to the Presidency, was now standing the observed of all the world, in a triumph that has no like in history. It was a triumph made memorable and peculiar by the ecstacies and hallelujahs of those very oppressed with whose care years before he had weighted and burdened his progress. It was one of those earthly scenes which grandly foreshadow that great final triumph predicted in prophecy, when the Lord God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes. A contemporary witness has described Lincoln calm and simple, leading his little boy by the hand, while the liberated Blacks hailed him with hymns and prayers, mingling his name at each moment with ascriptions of praise and glory to Jesus the Great Liberater whose day at last had come Who can say of what ages of mournful praying and beseeching, what uplifting of poor dumb hands that hour was the outcome? Years before a clergyman of Virginia visiting the Black insurrectionist, Nat. Turner, in his cell before execution. gives the following wonderful picture of him: "In rags, in chains, covered with blood and bruises, he yet is inspired with such a force of enthusiasm as he lifts his chained hands to heaven, as really filled my soul with awe. It is impossible to make him feel that he is guilty. He evidently feels that he was called of God to do the work he did. When I pointed out to him that it could not be, because he was taken, condemned and about to be executed, he answered with enthusiasm, 'was not Jesus Christ crucified? My cause will succeed yet.'"

Years passed, and the prophetic visions of Nat. Turner were fulfilled on the soil of Virginia. It did indeed rain blood; the very leaves of the trees dripped blood; but the work was done, the yoke was broken, and the oppressed went free. An old Negress, who stood and saw the Confederate prisoners being carried for safe keeping into the former slave pens, said grimly: "Well, de Lord am slow, but He am *sure*."

As the final scenes of his life drew on, it seemed as if a

heavenly influence overshadowed the great martyr, and wrought in him exactly the spirit that a man would wish to be found in when he is called to the eternal world. His last expressions and recorded political actions, looked towards peace and forgiveness. On the day before his death, he joyfully ordered the discontinuance of the draft. His very last official act was to give orders that two of the chief leaders of the rebellion, then expected in disguise, at a seaport, in their flight to Europe, should not be arrested, but permitted to embark; so that he was thinking only of saving the lives of Rebels, when they were thinking of taking his. If he had tried, of set purpose, to clear his soul for God's presence, and to put the Rebels and their assassin champion in the wrong, before that final tribunal, he could not have done better.

The scheme for the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, was finally completed, and in his case successfully accomplished. Mr. Lincoln was to be assassinated by Booth; Mr. Johnson by Atzerodt; Mr. Seward by Payne (alias Powell), and General Grant by O'Laughlin. A death trap had been prepared for Mr. Lincoln in Ford's Theatre, where he had been invited. It was so arranged that the assassin could fasten the door behind him, when he entered the President's box, sufficiently to prevent any interruption, until his work was done. Arrangements were made for securing horses for the murderers to flee with. The stage carpenter, or assistant, Spangler, was employed to be on hand and open and shut the back door of the theatre, when wanted. A supply of weapons for the conspirators was provided, and a route for flight from Washington, within the Rebel lines, was determined on. This route led Southward from the city, over Anacostia Bridge, ten miles to Mrs. Suratt's house, at Surattsville, then some fifteen miles more to Dr. Mudd's house; then about twenty miles to a point where arrangements were made for crossing the Potomac and proceeding towards Richmond.

All being ready, Booth, about 9 P. M. on the 14th of April, 1865, went to the theatre. He first went to the back door, entered it, and saw that all was prepared; left Spangler in

charge, and left his horse to be held by another subordinate of the theatre. Then he went around to the front of the building where three of the conspirators were waiting. It was now about half past nine. One act of the play, "Our American Cousin," was nearly through. "I think he will come out now," remarked Booth. It is very usual for the spectators to leave the theatre between the acts, often to return; and if Mr. Lincoln had happened to feel too busy to remain longer, and had left then, probably Booth would have attacked him there, trusting to be able to escape into the theatre in the bustle and so through his guarded door. But the President did not come. Booth went into a saloon close by and drank some whiskey. The spectators had returned for the next act. Booth entered the vestibule of the theatre, and from it to the passage that leads from the street to the stage, and also to the outer door of the President's box. As he did so one of his companions followed him into the vestibule, looked up at the clock, and called the hour. It was approaching ten. Three successive times, at intervals of several minutes, the companion thus called out the hour. The third time he called in a louder tone, "Ten minutes past ten o'clock!" At this Booth disappeared in the theatre, and the three others walked rapidly away. Booth went straight to the outer door of the President's box, paused and showed a visiting card to the President's messenger, who was in waiting; placed his hand and his knee against the door, and, pushing it open, entered. He then quietly fastened the door with the brace that stood ready; looked through the hole in the inner door, and saw the President. Silently opening the door, he entered. Mr. Lincoln sat at the left-hand front corner of the box, his wife at his right hand, a Miss Harris at the right-hand front corner, and a Major Rathbone behind her. Mr. Lincoln was leaning forward and looking down into the orchestra. Booth stepped quickly up and fired a pistol bullet into the President's head behind and on the left side. The murdered man raised his head once; it fell back upon his chair and his eyes closed. Major Rathbone, a cool, bold and prompt soldier, who had been absorbed in the play, now, hearing the

pistol shot, turned, saw Booth through the smoke, and instantly sprang upon him. Booth, a nervous and strong man, expert in all athletic exercises, and a skillful fencer, wrenched himself free with a desperate effort, as he well needed to do. He had already dropped his pistol and drawn a heavy bowie knife, with which he made a furious thrust at his captor's heart. Rathbone parried it, but was wounded deeply in the arm, and his hold loosed. Booth sprang for the front of the box; Rathbone followed, but only caught his clothes as he sprang over. Rathbone shouted, "Stop that man!" and then turned to assist the President.

Booth leaped over the front of the box down upon the stage, shouting as he went, "Revenge for the South!" His spur caught in the National flag as he descended; the entanglement caused him to fall almost flat on the stage as he came down; and either the wrench of tearing loose from the flag or the fall, snapped one of the bones of his leg between the knee and ankle. This fracture, though not preventing him at once from moving about, so far disabled him as probably to have been the occasion of his being overtaken and captured; so that it is scarcely extravagant to imagine the flag as having, in a sense, avenged the guilt of the crime perpetrated upon its chief official defender, by waylaying and entrapping the criminal in his turn as he had done his victim. Booth instantly sprang up, turned towards the audience, and raising his bloody knife in a stage attitude, with a theatrical manner vociferated the motto of the State of Virginia, *sic semper tyrannis*—a motto already turned into a discreditable satire by its contrast with the characteristic traffic of the great slave breeding State, and even more effectually disgraced by the use now made of it, to justify assassination. It will be strange if some less dishonored words are not one day chosen for the device of Free Virginia.

Booth, thus vaporing for a moment, then rushed headlong across the stage and darted by the side passage to the rear door. One man sprang from an orchestra seat upon the stage and shouted to "Stop him!" One of the employes of the

theatre, standing in the passage, was too much startled to stand aside, and the desperate fugitive struck him on the leg, cut at him twice, knocked him to one side, and darted on. The door was ready, he sprang out, it shut behind him. Seizing the horse which was held in waiting for him, Booth, as if in a frenzy like that of the Malays when "running *amok*," struck the poor fellow who held it with the butt of his knife, knocking him down, and then kicking him, sprang to the saddle, and, after a few moments lost in consequence of some nervousness or fright of the animal, rode swiftly off. This was on the evening of Friday, the 14th; it was on Wednesday, the 26th, that Booth, after having been delayed by having his leg set and crippled by it afterwards, was discovered in Garratt's barn, south of the Rappahannock, about twenty miles from the Potomac, and was surrounded, shot and taken.

The murdered President was quickly carried from the theatre to a house across the street and placed upon a bed. Surgical aid was at once obtained, but an examination showed that there was no hope of life. Mr. Lincoln's eyes had not opened, nor had consciousness returned at all, nor they never did. The ball was a heavy one, from what is called a Derringer pistol, a short, single-barreled weapon with a large bore. It had passed clear through the brain and lodged against the bone of the orbit of the left eye, breaking that bone. It is almost certain that Mr. Lincoln suffered no pain after being shot, as the injury was of the nature to destroy conscious life. His exceedingly strong constitution, and tenacity of life, maintained respiration and circulation for a remarkably long time, but he died the next morning at half past seven.

Of the particulars of that great National mourning which bowed the whole land, it is not needful to speak. Like many parts of that great history of which it formed a portion, there were often points in it of a peculiar and symbolic power, which rose to the sublime. Such was the motto—"Be still, and know that I am God"—which spoke from the walls of the New York depot when amid the hush of weeping thousands, the solemn death car entered. The contrast between the peaceful

expression on the face of the weary man and the surging waves of mourning and lamentation around him, was touching and awful.

Not the least touching among these expressions of National mourning was the dismay and anguish of that poor oppressed race for whose rights he died.

A Southern correspondent of the New York Tribune, the week following the assassination, wrote: "I never saw such sad faces and heard such heavy heart-beatings as here in Charleston the day the news came. The colored people were like children bereaved of a parent. I saw one old woman going up the streets, wringing her hands, and saying aloud as she walked, looking straight before her, so absorbed in her grief that she noticed no one:

"O Lord! O Lord! O Lord! Massa Sam's dead! Massa Sam's dead!"

"Who's dead, Aunty?"

"Massa Sam's dead!" she said, not looking at me, and renewing her lamentations.

"Who's Massa Sam?" said I.

"Uncle Sam," she said, "O Lord! O Lord!"

Not quite sure that she meant the President, I spoke again:

"Who's Massa Sam, Aunty?"

"Mr. Lincum," she said and resumed wringing her hands, mourning in utter hopelessness of sorrow.

The poor Negroes on the distant plantations had formed a conception of Lincoln, much akin to that of a Divine Being. Their masters fled on the approach of our soldiers, and this gave the slaves a conception of a Great Invincible Power, which they called Massa Lincum.

To them the stroke was almost as if we could possibly conceive death as happening to the God we worship; a mingled shock of grief, surprise and terror.

The people of the North were little less terrified and grief stricken; for dear as was the name of Lincoln, and closely bound by the cords of love to every American heart, he was doubly so to this noble and loyal race.

We conclude our biography of Lincoln, with extracts from the oration of Frederick Douglass, delivered on the occasion of the unveiling of the Freedman's Monument, in memory of Abraham Lincoln, in Lincoln Park, Washington, D. C., April 14, 1876:

* * * "The sentiment which brings us here to-day, is one of the noblest that can stir and thrill the human heart. It has crowned and made glorious the high places of all civilized Nations, with the grandest and most enduring works of art, designed to illustrate the characters and perpetuate the memories of great public men. It is the sentiment which, from year to year, adorns with fragrant and beautiful flowers the graves of our loyal, brave and patriotic soldiers, who fell in the defense of the Union and liberty. It is the sentiment of gratitude and appreciation, which often in the presence of many who hear me, has filled yonder heights of Arlington with the eloquence of eulogy and the sublime enthusiasm of poetry and song; a sentiment which can never die while the Republic lasts. * *

"It was enough for us that Abraham Lincoln was at the head of a great movement, and was in living and earnest sympathy with that movement, which, in the nature of things, must go on until slavery should be utterly and forever abolished in the United States. * * * * Under his wise and beneficent rule, we saw ourselves gradually lifted from the depths of slavery to the heights of liberty and manhood; under his wise and beneficent rule, and by measures approved and vigorously pressed by him, we saw that the hand writing of ages, in the form of prejudice and proscription, was rapidly fading from the face of our whole country; under his rule, and in due time, about as soon after all as the country could tolerate the strange spectacle, we saw our brave sons and brothers laying off the rags of bondage, and being clothed all over in the blue uniforms of the soldiers of the United States; under his rule we saw the independence of the Black Republic of Hayti, the special object of slave-holding aversion and horror, fully recognized, and her minister, a colored gentleman, duly received here in the City of Washington; under his rule, we saw the

internal slave trade, which so long disgraced the Nation, abolished, and slavery abolished in the District of Columbia; under his rule, we saw for the first time the law enforced against the foreign slave trade, and the first slave trader hanged like any other pirate or murderer; under his rule, assisted by the greatest captain of our age, and his inspiration, we saw the Confederate States, based upon the idea that our race must be slaves, and slaves forever, battered to pieces and scattered to the four winds. * * * * *

"Can any colored man or any white man friendly to the freedom of all men, ever forget the night which followed the first day of January, 1863, when the world was to see if Abraham Lincoln would prove to be as good as his word? I shall never forget that memorable night, when in a distant city I waited and watched at a public meeting, with three thousand others not less anxious than myself, for the word of deliverance which we have heard read to-day. Nor shall I ever forget the outburst of joy and thanksgiving that rent the air when the lightning brought to us the Emancipation Proclamation. * * * * His great mission was to accomplish two things: first, to save his country from dismemberment and ruin; and second, to free his country from the great crime of slavery. To do one or the other, or both, he must have the earnest sympathy and powerful co-operation of his loyal fellow countrymen; without this primary and essential condition to success, his efforts must have been vain and utterly fruitless. Had he put the abolition of slavery before the salvation of the Union, he would have inevitably driven from him a powerful class of the American people and rendered resistance to Rebellion impossible. Viewed from the genuine abolition ground, Mr. Lincoln seemed tardy, cold, dull, and indifferent; but measuring him by the sentiment of his country, a sentiment he was bound as a statesman, to consult, he was swift, zealous, radical and determined. * * * *

"A patriot himself, his faith was strong and unwavering in the patriotism of his countrymen. Timid men said before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, that we had seen the last Presi-

dent of the United States. A voice in influential quarters said, "Let the Union slide." Some said that a Union maintained by the sword was worthless. Others said a Rebellion of eight millions cannot be suppressed. But in the midst of all this tumult and timidity, and against all this Abraham Lincoln was clear to his duty and had an oath in heaven. He calmly and bravely heard the voice of doubt and fear all around him, but he had an oath in heaven, and there was not power enough on earth to make this honest boatman, backwoodsman, and broad-handed splitter of rails evade or violate that sacred oath. He had not been schooled in the ethics of slavery, his plain life had favored his love of truth. He had not been taught that treason and perjury were the proof of honor and honesty. His moral training was against his saying one thing and meaning another. The trust which Abraham Lincoln had in himself and in the people was surprising and grand, but it was also enlightened and well founded. He knew the American people better than they knew themselves, and his truth was based upon this knowledge.

"Fellow citizens, the fourteenth day of April, 1865, of which this is the eleventh anniversary, is now and will ever remain a memorable day in the annals of this Republic. It was on the evening of this day, while a fierce and sanguinary Rebellion was in the last stages of its desolating power, while its armies were broken and scattered before the invincible armies of Grant and Sherman, while a great Nation, torn and rent by war, was already beginning to raise to the skies loud anthems of joy at the dawn of peace, that it was startled, amazed and overwhelmed by the crowning crime of slavery,—the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. It was a new crime—a pure act of malice. No purpose of the Rebellion was to be served by it. It was the simple gratification of a hell black spirit of revenge. But it has done good after all. It has filled the country with a deeper abhorrence of slavery and a deeper love for the Great Liberator.

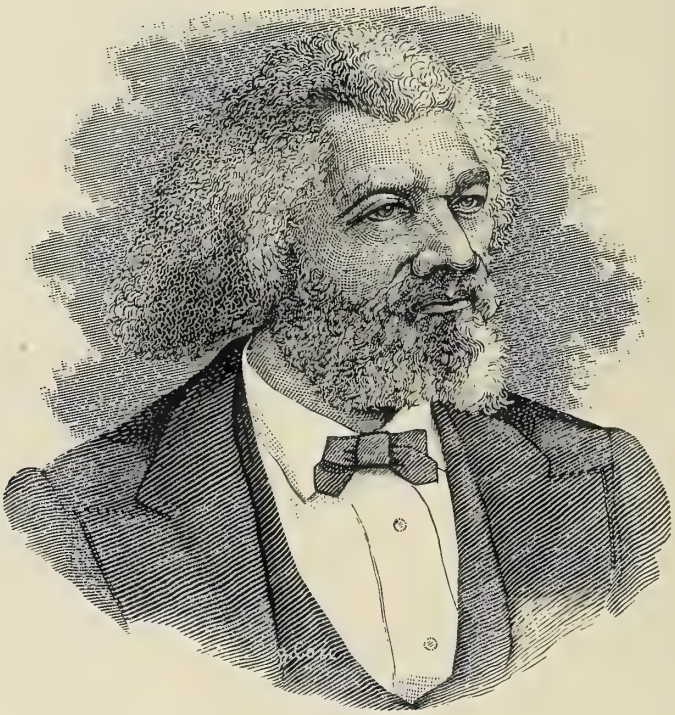
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So he grew up, a destined work to do,
And lived to do it four long suffering years,
Ill fate, ill feeling, ill report, lived through,
And then he heard the hisses change to cheers.

The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,
And took both with the same unwavering mood;
Till, as he came on light, from darkling days,
And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood,

A felon hand, between the goal and him,
Reached from behind his back, a trigger press'd—
And those perplexed and patient eyes were dim,
Those gaunt, long laboring limbs were laid to rest!

The words of mercy were upon his lips,
Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,
When this vile murderer brought swift eclipse
To thoughts of peace on earth, good will to men."



Frederick Douglass.

CHAPTER XXII.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Abou Ben Adhem—may his tribe increase!
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,
And saw, within the moonlight in his room,
Making it rich, like a lily in bloom,
An angel, writing in a book of gold:
Exceeding peace had made Ben Adhem bold;
And to the presence in the room he said,
"What writest thou?" The vision raised its head,
And with a look made all of sweet accord,
Answered, "The names of those who love the Lord."
"And is mine one?" said Abou. "Nay, not so;"
Replied the angel. Abou spoke more low,
But cheerily still, and said: "I pray thee, then,
Write me as one who loves his fellow-men."
The angel wrote and vanished.
The next night
It came again with a great wakening light,
And showed the names whom love of God had blest;
And lo! Ben Adhem's name led all the rest.

It is the pride and boast of truly Republican institutions that they give to every human being an opportunity of thus demonstrating what is in him. If a man is a man, no matter in what rank of society he is born, no matter how tied down and weighted by poverty and all its attendant disadvantages, there is nothing in our American institutions to prevent his rising to the very highest offices in the gift of the country.

As we recount the lives of the major portion of America's greatest, we find that by their own unaided efforts they have raised themselves, in spite of every disadvantage which circumstances could throw in their way; and it is with the purpose in view of inspiring our rising colored citizens with honorable ambition, that we record the biography of the illustrious Douglass.

Though a man like Charles Sumner, coming of an old Boston family, with every advantage of Boston schools, and of Cambridge College, becomes distinguished, yet side by side with him we see Abraham Lincoln, the rail-splitter, Henry

Wilson, from the shoemaker's bench, and Chase from a New Hampshire farm. But there have been in our country some three or four millions of human beings who were born to a depth of poverty, below what Henry Wilson or Abraham Lincoln ever dreamed of. Wilson and Lincoln, to begin with, owned nothing but their bare hands, but there have been in this country four or five million men and women who did not even own their bare hands. Wilson and Lincoln, and other brave men like them, owned their own souls and wills—they were free to say, "thus and thus I will do, I will be educated, I will be intelligent, I will be a Christian, I will by honest industry amass property to serve me in my upward aims." But there were four million men and women in America who were decreed by the laws of this country not to own even their own souls. The law said to them, they shall be taken and held as chattels personal to all intents and purposes. This hapless class of human beings might be sold for debt, might be mortgaged for real estate; nay, the unborn babe might be pledged or mortgaged for the debts of a master. There were among these unfortunate millions, in the eye of the law, neither husbands or wives, nor fathers or mothers; they were only chattels, personal. They could no more contract a legal marriage than a bedstead can marry a cooking stove, or a plow be married to a spinning wheel. They were week after week advertised in public prints to be sold in company with horses, cows, pigs, hens and other stock of a plantation.

They were forbidden to learn to read. The slave laws imposed the same penalty on the man who should teach a man to read, as on the man who wilfully put out his eyes. They had no legal right to be Christians, or enter the kingdom of heaven, because the law regarded them simply as personal property subject to the caprice of an owner, and when the owner did not choose to have his property be a Christian, he could shut him out from the light of the gospel, as easily as one can close a window shutter. Now if we think it a great thing that Wilson and Lincoln raised themselves from a state of comparatively early disadvantage to high places in the land, what shall we

think of one who started from this immeasurable gulf below them?

Frederick Douglass had as far to climb to get to the spot where the poorest free white boy is born, as that white boy has to climb to be President of the Nation, and take rank with Kings and Judges of the earth.

There are few young men born to competence, carried carefully through all the earlier stages of training, drilled in a grammar school, and perfected by a four years college course, who could stand up on a platform, and compete successfully with Frederick Douglass as an orator. Nine out of ten college educated young men would shrink even from the trial, and yet, Frederick Douglass fought his way up from a nameless hovel on a Maryland plantation, where with hundreds of others of the young live stock he shivered in his little tow shirt, the only garment allowed him for summer and winter, kept himself warm by sitting on the sunny side of out-buildings, like a little dog, and often was glad to dispute with the pigs for the scraps of what came to them to satisfy his hunger.

From this position he has raised himself to the habits of mind, thought and life, of a cultivated gentleman, and from that point of sight, has illustrated exactly what slavery was (thank God we write in the past tense) in an autobiography which most affectingly presents what it is to be born a slave. Every man who fought in our late great struggle—every man or woman who made a sacrifice for it—every one conscious of inward bleedings and cravings that never shall be healed or assuaged, for what they have rendered up in this great anguish, ought to read this autobiography of a slave man, and give thanks to God that even by the bitterest sufferings, they have been permitted to do something to wipe such a disgrace and wrong from the earth.

The first thing that every man remembers, is his mother. Americans all have a mother at least that can be named. But it is exceedingly affecting to read the history of a human being who writes that during all his childhood he never saw his mother only two or three times, and then in the night.

And why? Because she was employed on a plantation twelve miles away. Her only means of seeing her boy was to walk twelve miles over to the place where he was, spend a brief hour, and walk twelve miles back, so as to be ready to go to work at four o'clock in the morning. How many mothers would often visit their children by such an effort? and yet at well remembered intervals the mother of Frederick Douglass did this for the sake of holding her child a little while in her arms; lying down a brief hour with him.

That she was a woman of uncommon energy and strength of affection this sufficiently shows, because as slave mother she could do him no earthly good—she owned not a cent to bring him. She could not buy him clothes. She could not even mend or wash the one garment alloted to him.

Only once in his childhood did he remember his mother's presence as being to him anything of that comfort and protection that it is to ordinary children. He, with all the other little live stock of the plantation, were dependent for a daily allowance of food on a cross old woman whom they called Aunt Katy. For some reason of her own, Aunt Katy had taken a pique against little Fred., and announced to him that she was going to keep him a day without food. At the close of this day when he crept shivering in among the other children, and was denied even the coarse slice of corn bread which all the rest had, he broke out in loud lamentations. Suddenly his mother appeared behind him—caught him in her arms, poured out volumes of wrathful indignation on Aunt Katy, and threatened to complain to the overseer if she did not give him his share of food—produced from her bosom a sweet cake which she had managed to procure for him, and sat down to wipe away his tears and see him enjoy it. This mother must have been a woman of strong mental characteristics. Though a plantation field hand, she could read, and if we consider against what superhuman difficulties such a knowledge must have been acquired, it is an evidence of wonderful character. Douglas, says of her, that she was tall and finely proportioned. With affecting simplicity he says: "There is in Prichard's Natural

History of Man, page 157, the head of a figure, the features of which so resemble those of my mother, that I often recur to it with something of the feeling which I suppose others to experience when looking on the features of dear departed ones."

The face alluded to is copied from a head of Rameses, the great Egyptian King of the nineteenth dynasty. The profile is European in its features, and similar in class to the head of Napoleon. From all the considerations, we supposed that the mother of Douglass must have been one of that Mandingo tribe of Africans, who were distinguished among the slaves for fine features, great energy, intelligence and pride of character. The Black population of America is not one race. If slaveholders and kidnappers had been busy for years in Europe stirring up wars in the different countries, and sending all the captives to be sold in America, the mixture of Swedes, Danes, Germans, Russians, Italians, French and Irish, might all have gone under the head of *white men*, but they would have none the more been of the same race. The Africans of this country are a mixture torn from tribes and races quite as dissimilar. The Mandingo has European features, a fine form, wavy, not woolly hair, is intelligent, vigorous, proud and brave. The natives of Guinea are not so strongly marked by these characteristics.

The father of Frederick Douglass, was a white man—whom he never knew—it would have been of no advantage to him had he known—but there is reason to think that those fine intellectual gifts, that love of liberty, and hatred of slavery which have led him to the position he now occupies among freemen, were due to the blood of his mother. That silent, noble Black woman, whose wrongs were borne, in such patience, whose soul must have so often burned within her, whose affections were stronger than weariness, and whose mind *would* possess the key of knowledge even though she gained it at such terrible sacrifices and hazards, she is to be honored as the mother of Garrison is, as having lived in her son, and being the true author and inspirer of all that is good and just in him.

After a few short interviews the communication between Douglass and his mother ceased. She was taken sick, had a

long illness, and died without a word or message, or any token passing between her and her child. He running wild, a dirty little animal on the distant plantation, she suffering, wasting, dying in silence,—going into the great Invisible where so many helpless mothers have gone to plead for their children before God.

The plantation of Colonel Loyd, on which Fred. Douglass was raised, was a representative fact illustrating what may be known of slavery. *There* might be seen a large, elegant, airy house, filled with every luxury and comfort, the abode of hospitality and leisure. Company always coming and going—bountiful tables spread with every delicacy of sea and land—choice cookery, old wines, massive plate, splendid curtains and pictures. All combined to give the impression of a joyous and abundant life. Fifteen well dressed, well trained servants, chosen for good looks and good manners, formed an obsequious army of attendants behind the chairs of guests at the dinner hour, or waited on them in their private apartments.

The shrubbery, the flower gardens, the ample lawns, were laid out with European taste, the stables had studs of the finest blood horses at the disposal of guests—all was cultivation, elegance and refinement.

Colonel Loyd was supposed to own a thousand slaves, and what the life was on which all this luxury and elegance was built, the history of Douglass and his mother may show. Colonel Loyd owned several contiguous farms or plantations, each one under an overseer, and all were under the general supervision of an agent who lived on the central plantation, and went by the name among the slaves of Old Master. Between this man and his family, and Colonel Loyd and his family, there was none of the intercourse of equals. No visits were ever exchanged, and no intercourse except of a necessary business character ever took place. The owner and his family had nothing to do with the management of the estates any further than to enjoy and dispense the revenues they brought in; all the rest was left to the Old Master and Overseers. The estate was as secluded from all influence of public opinion, and the

slaves were as completely in the power of the Overseers as the serfs in the feudal ages. Even the vessels which carried the produce of the plantations to Baltimore were owned by Colonel Loyd. Every man and boy by whom these vessels were worked, excepting the Captains, were Colonel Loyd's property. All the artisans on all the places, the blacksmiths, wheelrights, shoemakers, weavers and coopers, were also pieces of property belonging to Colonel Loyd. What chance was there for laws or for public sentiment, or any other humanizing influence, to restrain absolute power in a district so governed?

One of the earliest lessons in the practical meaning of slavery was taught to the child by hearing the shrieks and groans of a favorite Aunt Ester under the lash of Old Master. She was a finely formed, handsome woman, and had the presumption to prefer a young slave man to her master, and for this she was made the victim of degradation and torture.

On another occasion he saw a young girl who came from one of the neighboring plantations, with her head cut and bleeding from the brutality of the Overseer, to put herself under the protection of Old Master. Though the brutality of her treatment was perfectly evident, he heard her met only with reproaches and oaths, and ordered to go back at once or expect even severer treatment.

This was a part of an unvarying system. It was a fixed rule never to listen to complaints of any kind from a slave, and even when they were evidently well founded, to affect to disregard them. That the slave was to have no appeal in any case from the absolute power of the Overseer was a fundamental maxim of the system.

Endowed by his mother with an intelligent and thoughtful organization, young Douglass began early to turn in his mind the dark question, *Why am I a slave?* On this subject he pushed inquiries among his little play fellows and the elderly of the race, but could get no satisfactory solution, except that some remembered that their fathers and mothers were stolen from Africa. When not more than seven or eight years old these thoughts burned in him, whenever he wandered through

the woods and fields, and a strong determination to become a free man in future life took possession of him. It may have been inspired by the invisible guardianship of that poor mother, who, unable to help him in life, may have been permitted higher powers in the world of spirits.

The comments which Douglass makes on many features of slave life as they affected his childish mind, are very peculiar and show slavery from an inside point of view. In regard to the physical comforts of plantation life, he gives the following account:

"It is the boast of slaveholders that their slaves enjoy more of the physical comforts of life than the peasantry of any country in the world. My experience contradicts this. The men and the women slaves on Colonel Loyd's plantation received as their monthly allowance eight pounds of pickled pork or its equivalent in fish. The pork was often tainted and the fish of the poorest quality. With this they had one bushel of unbolted Indian meal, of which quite fifteen per cent. was fit only for pigs; with this one pint of salt was given, and this was the entire monthly allowance of a full grown slave, working constantly in the open field, from morning until night every day except Sundays. This was living on a fraction more than a quarter of a pound of poor meat per day and less than a peck of corn meal per week, and there is no work requiring a more abundant supply of food to prevent physical exhaustion, than the field work of a slave.

"So much for food. Now as for raiment. The yearly allowance of clothing on this plantation consisted of two linen shirts, one pair of tow trowsers for summer, a pair of trowsers and jacket of slazy workmanship for winter, one pair of yarn stockings and one pair of coarse shoes. The slave's entire apparel could not have cost more than eight dollars per year. Children not yet able to work in the field had neither shoes, stockings, jackets nor trowsers given them. Their clothing consisted of two coarse tow linen shirts per year, and, when these failed they went literally naked until next allowance day. Flocks of children from five to ten years old might be seen on

Colonel Loyd's plantations as destitute of clothing as any little heathen in Africa, and this even in the frosty month of March.

"As to beds to sleep on, *none* were given. Nothing but a coarse blanket, such as is used in the North to cover horses, and these were not provided for little ones.

"The children cuddled in holes and corners about the quarters, often in the corners of the huge chimneys with their feet in the ashes to keep them warm."

An average day of plantation life is thus given:

"Old and young—male and female,married and single, drop down together on the clay floor each evening, with his or her blanket. The night however is shortened at both ends. The slaves work often as long as they can see, and are late in cooking and mending for the coming day, and at the first grey streak of morning, are summoned to the field by the driver s horn.

"More slaves are whipped for oversleeping than for any other fault. The overseer stands at the quarter door, armed with his cowhide, ready to whip any who may be a few minutes behind time. When the horn is blown there is a rush for the door, and the last one is sure to get a blow from the overseer. Young mothers working in the field were allowed about ten o'clock to go home and nurse their children; some times they are obliged to take their children with them, and leave them in the corners of the fences to prevent loss of time. The overseer rides around the field on horseback. A cowskin and a hickory stick are his constant companions. The slaves take their breakfast with them and eat it in the field. The dinner of the slave consists of a huge piece of ash-cake, that is to say, unbolted corn meal and water, stirred up and baked in the ashes. To this a small slice of pork or a couple of salt herring were added. A few moments of rest is allowed at dinner; which is variously spent, some lie down on the "turning row" and go to sleep. Others draw together and talk, others are at work with needle and thread mending their tattered garments, but soon the overseer comes dashing in upon them. Tumble up, tumble up is the word;and now from twelve o'clock until dark,

the human cattle are in motion, wielding their clumsy hoes, inspired by no hope of reward. No sense of gratitude, no love of children, no prospect of bettering their condition, nothing save the dread and terror of the driver's lash. So goes one day and so comes another."

This is slavery as remembered by a cultivated, intelligent man, who was born and bred a slave.

In regard to his own peculiar lot as a child on this plantation he says: I was seldom whipped, and never severely by my Old Master. I suffered little from any treatment I received, except from hunger and cold, I could get enough neither of food or clothing, but suffered more from cold than hunger. In the heat of Summer or cold of Winter alike I was kept almost in a state of nudity—no shoes, jackets, trowsers, stockings—nothing but a coarse tow linen shirt reaching to the knee. This I wore night and day. In the day time I could protect myself pretty well by keeping on the sunny side of the house, and in bad weather in the corner of the kitchen chimney. The great difficulty was to keep warm at night. I had no bed. The pigs in the pen had leaves, and the horses in the stable had straw, but the children had nothing. In very cold weather I sometimes got down the bag in which corn was carried to the mill and got into that. My feet have been so cracked by the frost that the pen with which I am writing might be laid in the gashes.

"The manner of taking our meals at Old Master's indicated but little refinement. Our corn meal mush when sufficiently cooled, was placed in a large wooden tray or trough, like those used in making maple sugar here in the North. This tray was set down either on the floor of the kitchen or out of doors on the ground; and the children were called like so many pigs, and like so many pigs they would come and literally devour the mush—some with oyster shells, some with pieces of shingles, and none with spoons. He that ate fastest got most, and he that was strongest got the best place; and few left the trough really satisfied. I was the most unlucky of any for Aunt Katy had no good feeling for me; and if I pushed any of the other

children, or if they told her anything unfavorable of me, she always believed the worst and was sure to whip me."

The effect of all this on his childish mind is thus told: "As I grew older and more thoughtful, I was more and more filled with a sense of my wretchedness. The cruelty of Aunt Katy, the hunger and cold I suffered, and the terrible reports of wrong and outrage which came to my ear, together with what I almost daily witnessed, led me when but eight or nine years old to wish I had never been born. I used to contrast my condition with the blackbirds, in whose wild and sweet songs I fancied them so happy! Their apparent joy only deepened the shades of my sorrow. There are thoughtful days in the lives of children—at least there were in mine—when they grapple with all the great primary subjects of knowledge, and reach in a moment, conclusions which no subsequent conclusion can shake. I was just as well aware of the unjust, unnatural and murderous character of slavery, when nine years old as I am now, without any appeal to books, or to authorities of any kind, it was enough to accept God as a Father and to regard slavery as a crime."

Douglass' remarks on the singing of slaves are very striking. Speaking of certain days of each month, when the slaves from the different farms came up to the central plantation to get their monthly allowances of meal and meat, he says that there was always a great contention among the slaves as to who should go up with the ox team for this purpose. He says: "Probably the chief motive of the competitors for the place, was a desire to break the dull monotony of the field, and to get beyond the Overseer's eye and lash. Once on the road with an ox team, and seated on the tongue of his cart, with no Overseer to look after him, the slave was comparatively free; and, if thoughtful, he had time to think. Slaves are generally expected to sing as well as to work. A silent slave is not liked by Master or Overseer. '*Make a noise*,' '*make a noise*,' and '*bear a hand*,' are the words usually addressed to the slaves when there is silence amongst them. This may account for the almost constant singing heard in the Southern States.

There was generally more or less singing among the teamsters, as it was one means of letting the Overseer know where they were, and that they were moving on with the work. But on allowance day those who visited the great house farm were peculiarly excited and noisy. While on their way they would make the dense old woods, for miles around, reverberate with their wild notes. These were not always merry because they were wild. On the contrary, they were mostly of a plaintive cast, and told a tale of grief and sorrow.

"In the most rapturous outbursts of rapturous sentiment, there was even a tinge of deep melancholy. I have never heard any songs like those anywhere since I left slavery, except when in Ireland. There I heard the same *wailing notes*, and was much affected by them. It was during the famine of 1845-6. In all the songs of the slaves there was ever some expression in praise of the great house farm; something which would flatter the pride of the owner and possibly draw a favorable glance from him.

"'I am going away to the great house farm,
O Yea! O Yea! O Yea!
My Old Master is a good Old Master,
O Yea! O Yea! O Yea!'

* * * * * *

"I did not, when a slave, understand the deep meanings of those rude and apparently incoherent songs. I was myself within the circle, so that I neither saw nor heard as those without might see and hear. They told a tale which was then altogether beyond my feeble comprehension; they were tones loud, long, and deep, breathing the prayer of souls; overflowing with the bitterest anguish. Every tone was a testimony against slavery and a prayer to God for deliverance from chains. The hearing of those wild notes always depressed my spirits, and filled my heart with ineffable sadness. The mere recurrence, even now, afflicts my spirits. And while I am writing these lines my tears are falling. To those songs I trace my first glimmering conceptions of the dehumanizing character of slavery. I can never get rid of that conception·

Those songs still follow me to deepen my hatred of slavery, and quicken my sympathy for my brethren in bonds."

When Douglass was ten years old a great change took place in his circumstances. His Old Master sent him to Baltimore to be a family servant in the house of a family connection.

He speaks with great affection of his new mistress, Miss Sophia Auld. It is the Southern custom for a slave to address a young married lady always by this maiden title. She had never before had to do with a slave child, and seemed to approach him with all the tender feelings of motherhood. He was to have the care of her own little son, some years younger, and she seemed to extend maternal tenderness to him. His clothing, lodging and food were all now those of a favored house boy, and his employment to run of errands and take care of his little charge, of whom he was very fond. The kindness and benignity of his mistress led the little boy to beg her to teach him to read, and the results are thus given :

"The dear woman began the task, and very soon by her assistance I was master of the alphabet and could spell words of three or four letters. My Mistress seemed almost as proud of my progress, as if I had been her own child ; and supposing that her husband would be as well pleased, she made no secret of what she was doing for me. Indeed, she exultingly told him of the aptness of her pupil, of her intention to persevere in teaching me, and of the duty which she felt to teach me at least to learn to read *the Bible.* Here arose the first cloud over my Baltimore prospects, the precursor of drenching rains and chilling blasts.

"Master Hugh was annoyed at the simplicity of his spouse, and probably for the first time, he unfolded to her the true philosophy of slavery and the peculiar rules necessary to be observed by Masters and Mistresses in the management of their human chattels. Mr. Auld promptly forbade the continuance of her instruction; telling her in the first place that the thing itself was unlawful; that it was also unsafe, and could only lead to mischief. To use his own words further, he said: 'If

you give a Nigger an inch he will take an ell; he should know nothing but the will of his Master, and learn to obey it. Learning would spoil the best Nigger in the world; if you teach that Nigger—speaking of myself—how to read the Bible, there will be no keeping him; it would forever unfit him for the duties of a slave, and as to himself learning would do him no good, but probably a great deal of harm, making him disconsolate and unhappy. If you teach him how to read he'll want to know how to write; and this accomplished, he'll be running away with himself.' Such was the tenor of master Hugh's; oracular exposition of the true philosophy of training a human chattel; and it must be confessed that he very clearly comprehended the nature and requirements of the relation of Master and slave. His discourse was the first decidedly anti-slavery lecture to which it had been my lot to listen. Mrs. Auld evidently felt the force of his remarks; and, like an obedient wife, began to shape her course in the direction indicated by her husband. The effect of his words on me was neither slight nor transitory. His iron sentences, cold and harsh, sunk deep into my heart, and stirred up not only my feelings into a sort of rebellion, but awakened within me a slumbering train of vital thought.

"It was a new and special revelation dispelling a painful mystery, against which my youthful understanding had struggled, and struggled in vain, to-wit: The *white* man's power to perpetuate the enslavement of the *Black* man.' Very well, thought I, knowledge unfits a man to be a slave. I instinctively assented to the proposition, and from that moment I understood the direct pathway from slavery to freedom."

But the desire of learning once awakened could not be hushed, and though Douglass' Mistress forebore her teaching, and even became jealously anxious to prevent his making further progress, he found means to continue his education, and with a spelling book hid away in his bosom and a few crackers in his pocket, he continued to get daily lessons from the street boys at intervals, when he went back and forth on errands. Sometimes the tuition fee was a cracker, and sometimes the les-

son was given in mere boyish good will. At last he made money enough to buy for himself; secretly a reading book. "The Columbian Orator." This book was prepared for schools during the liberty-loving Era succeeding the Revolution, when Southern men as well as Northern men conspired to reprobate slavery. There consequently young Fred. found most inspiring documents. There was a long conversation between a master and a slave, where a slave defended himself for running away by quoting the language of the Declaration of Independence. Douglass also says of this book:

"This, however, was not all the fanaticism which I found in this Columbian Orator. I met there one of Sheridan's mighty speeches on the subject of Catholic Emancipation, Lord Chatham's speech on the American War, and speeches by the great William Pitt and by Fox. These were all choice documents to me, and I read them over and over again, with an interest that was ever increasing, because it was ever gaining in intelligence; for the more I read them, the better I understood them. The reading of these speeches added much to my limited stock of language, and enabled me to give tongue to many interesting thoughts which had frequently flashed through my soul, and died away for want of utterance."

All this knowledge and expansion of mind of course produced at first intellectual gloom and misery. All the results of learning to read, predicted by the Master, had come to pass. He was so morose, so changed, that his Mistress noticed it, and showered reproaches upon him for his ingratitude. "Poor lady," he says, "she did not know my trouble and I dared not tell her; her abuse felt like the blows of Balaam on his poor ass; she did not know that an angel stood in the way.

"My feelings were not the result of any marked cruelty in the treatment I received; they sprung from the consideration of my being a slave. It was *slavery*—not its mere *incidents*—that I hated. I had been cheated. I saw through the attempt to keep me in ignorance; I saw that slave holders would have gladly made me believe that they were merely acting under the authority of God, in making a slave of me, and in making

slaves of others; and I treated them as robbers and deceivers. The feeding and clothing me well could not atone for taking my liberty from me."

About this time Douglass became deeply awakened to religious things by the prayers and exhortations of a pious old colored slave, who was a drayman. He could read and his friend could not, but Douglass, now newly awakened to spiritual things, read the Bible to him and received comfort from him. He says: "He fanned my already intense love for knowledge into a flame by assuring me that I was to be a useful man in the world. When I would say to him, 'how can these things be?' his simple reply was, '*Trust in the Lord.*' When I told him that I was a *slave for life*, he said: 'The Lord can make you free, my dear. All things are possible with Him. Only have faith in God. If you want your liberty, ask the Lord for it in faith, *and He will give it to you.*'" Cheered by this advice, Douglass began to offer daily and earnest prayers for liberty.

With reference to this he began to turn his thoughts towards acquiring the art of writing. He was employed as waiter in a ship yard, and watching the initial letters by which the carpenters marked the different parts of the ship, he thus in time acquired a large part of the written alphabet. This knowledge he supplemented by getting one and another boy of his acquaintance on one pretense or another to write words or letters on fences and boards. Then he surreptitiously copied the examples in his little master's copybook at home, when his Mistress was safely out of the house, and finally acquired the dangerous and forbidden gift of writing a fluent, handsome, correct hand.

He had various reverses after this as he grew in age and developed in manliness. He was found difficult to manage, and changed from hand to hand like a vicious, intractable horse.

Once a celebrated Negro breaker had a hand upon him, meaning to break his will, and reduce him to the condition of a contented animal, but the old story of Pegasus in harness

came to pass. The Negro breaker gave him up as a bad case, and finally his Master made a virtue of necessity, and allowed him to hire his own time. The bargain was that Douglass should pay him three dollars a week, and make his own bargains, find his own tools, board and clothe himself. The work was that of caulker in a ship yard. This, he says was a hard bargain; for the wear and tear of clothing, the breakage of tools and expenses of board made it necessary to earn at least six dollars a week, to keep even with the world and this percentage to the Master left him nothing beyond a bare living.

But it was a freeman's experience to be able to come and go unwatched, and before long it enabled him to mature a plan of escape, and the time at last came when he found himself a free colored citizen of New Bedford, seeking employment with the privilege of keeping his wages for himself. Here it was that reading for the first time the Lady of the Lake, he gave himselt the name of Douglass, and abandoned forever the family name of his old slave holding employer. Instead of a lazy, thriftless young man to be supported by his earnings, he took unto himself an affectionate and thrifty wife, and became a settled family man.

He describes the seeking for freeman's work as rapturous excitement. The thought, "I can work, I can earn money, I have no master now to rob me of my earnings," was a perfect joyous stimulus whenever it arose, and he says, "I sawed wood, dug cellars, shoveled coal, rolled oil casks on the wharves, helped to load and unload vessels, worked in candle works and brass foundries, and thus supported myself for three years." "I was," he says, "now living in a new world, and wide awake to its advantages. I early began to attend meetings of the colored people in New Bedford, and to take part in them, and was amazed to see colored men making speeches, drawing up resolutions and offering them for consideration."

His enthusiasm for self education was constantly stimulated. He appropriated some of his first earnings to subscribing for the Liberator, and was soon after introduced to Mr. Garrison.

How Garrison appeared to a liberated slave, may be a picture worth preserving and we give it in Douglass' own words:

"Seventeen years ago few men possessed a more heavenly countenance than William Lloyd Garrison, and few men evinced a more genuine or more exalted piety. The Bible was his text book—held sacred, as the word of the Eternal Father—sinless perfection—complete submission to insults and injuries—literal obedience to the injunction, if smitten on one side to turn the other also. Not only was Sunday a Sabbath, but all days were Sabbaths and to be kept holy. All sectarianism false and mischievous—the regenerated, throughout the world, members of one body, and the Head Jesus Christ. Prejudice against color was rebellion against God. Of all men beneath the sky, the slaves because most neglected and despised were nearest and dearest to his great heart. Those ministers who defended slavery from the Bible, were of their father the Devil; and those churches which fellowshipped slaveholders as Christians were synagogues of Satan, and our Nation was a Nation of liars. Never proud or noisy—calm and serene as a summer sky, and as pure. You are the Man, the Moses, raised up by God to deliver his modern Israel from bondage, was the spontaneous feeling of my heart as I sat away back in the hall and listened to his mighty words; mighty in truth and mighty in its simple earnestness."

From this time the course of Douglass is upward. The manifest talents which he possessed, led the friends of the Anti-slavery cause to feel that he could serve it better in a literary career than by manual labor.

In the year 1841 a great Anti-slavery Convention was held in Nantucket, where Frederick Douglass appeared on the stage, and before a great audience recounted his experiences. Mr. Garrison followed him and an immense enthusiasm was excited —and Douglass says: "that night there were at least a thousand Garrisonians in Nantucket." After this the General Agent of the Anti-slavery Society came and offered to Douglass the position of an agent of that society with a competent support to enable him to lecture through the country. Douglass contin-

ally pursuing the work of self education, became an accomplished speaker and writer. He visited England and was received with great enthusiasm. The interest excited in him was so great that several English friends united and paid the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds, for the purchase of his liberty. This enabled him to pursue his work of lecturer in the United States, to travel unmolested and to make himself every way conspicuous without danger of re-capture.

He settled in Rochester and established an Anti-slavery paper, called Frederick Douglass' paper, which bore a creditable character for literary execution, and had a good number of subscribers in America and England.

Two of Frederick Douglass' sons were among the first to answer to the call for colored troops, and fought bravely in the good cause. Douglass has succeeded in rearing an intelligent and cultivated family; and in placing himself in the front rank among intelligent and cultivated men. Few orators among us surpass him and his history from first to last is a comment on the slavery system which speaks for itself.

He is honored and respected by all of whatever race or people. As a representative American we are proud of him. It may be said of him, as the Romans said of those they desired to honor: "He deserves well of his country." His name and memory will be cherished as long as men worship at the altar of energy, intelligence, and liberty.

CHAPTER XXIII.

JOHN BROWN.

"When the refuges of Falsehood
Shall be swept away in wrath,
And the temple shall be shaken,
With its idol, to the earth,—
Shall not thy words of warning
Be all remembered then?
And thy now unheeded message
Burn in the hearts of men?

Where Mammon hath its altars,
Wet o'er with human blood,
And pride and lust debases
The workmanship of God,—
There shall thy praise be spoken,
Redeemed from Falsehood's ban,
When the fetters shall be broken,
And the *slave* shall be a *man!*"

JOHN BROWN was born in Torrington, Connecticut, May 9, 1800, and was hanged at Charlestown, Virginia, December 2, 1859. He had lived in Essex County, New York, in "John Brown tract" until 1851, when he removed to Akron, Ohio, and in 1855, without his younger children but with his four older sons, settled in Kansas, where he soon became known as "John Brown of Osawatomie," one of the foremost leaders in resisting Missouri border ruffian violence by force. He at last began the forcible liberation of Missouri slaves, and rewards were offered for his arrest by State and Federal authorities. In January, 1859, he left Kansas for the East, to fulfill his life long ambition of beginning a forcible, not a political, opposition to slavery by renewing the liberation of slaves on a far larger scale. In July, 1859, he settled near Harper's Ferry, Virginia, with some of his Kansas associates, and began preparations. Late on Sunday evening, October 17, with seventeen white and five colored men, he seized the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry "by the authority of God Almighty," and spent the next eighteen hours in freeing slaves, cutting telegraph



Affectionately Yours

John. Brown

wires, preparing defenses, and making white prisoners, of whom he secured nearly fifty. His intention was to retreat at once, with his negro recruits, to the strongholds of the mountains, and keep up a guerrilla warfare with the Alleghanies from Alabama to Maryland as his base, but he delayed until it was too late. By noon of Monday militia began to pour in, and before evening 1,500 soldiers, of all arms had surrounded the Armory engine house, which was Brown's last refuge. Early on Tuesday morning, the United States Marines, using a ladder as a battering ram, burst in the engine house door, and the Harper's Ferry insurrection was over. Eight of the insurgents had been killed, one was dying, and three had already been captured, two of them mortally wounded. The prisoners in the engine house were Brown, three other whites, and half dozen Negroes. John Brown's trial was fair, but his conviction was inevitable.

During the forty-two days of his confinement in Charlestown, Brown received several visits from sympathizing Northern friends, many of whom had never before seen him. His wife, overcoming many obstacles, was finally permitted to spend a few hours in his cell, and to take supper with him a short time before his death. No Virginians, so far as is known, proffered him any words of kindness, unless it were the Reverend Clergy of the neighborhood, who tendered him the solace of religion after their fashion, which he civilly but firmly declined. He could not recognize any one who justified or palliated slavery as a minister of the God he worshipped, or the Saviour in whom he trusted. He held arguments on several occasions with pro-slavery clergymen, but recognized them as men only, and not as invested with any peculiar sanctity. To one of them who sought to reconcile slavery with Christianity he said: "My dear sir, you know nothing about Christianity. You will have to learn the A, B, Cs in the lesson of Christianity, as I find you entirely ignorant of the meaning of the word. I of course respect you as a gentleman; but it is as a *heathen* gentleman." The argument here closed.

The second of December was the day appointed for

his execution. Nearly three thousand militia were early on the ground. Fears of a forcible rescue or of a servile insurrection prevented a large attendance of citizens. Cannon were so planted as to sweep every approach to the jail, and to blow the prisoner into shreds upon the first intimation of tumult. Virginia held her breath until she heard that the old man was dead.

Brown rose at daybreak, and continued writing with energy until half past ten, when he was told to prepare to die. He shook hands with the Sheriff, visited the cell of Copeland and Green, to whom he handed a quarter of a dollar each, saying he had no more use for money, and bade them adieu. He next visited Cook and Coppoc, the former of whom had made a confession, which he pronounced false; saying he had never sent Cook to Harper's Ferry as he had stated. He handed a quarter to Coppoc also, shook hands with him and parted. He then visited and bade a kindly good-bye to his more especial comrade, Stevens, gave him a quarter, and charged him not to betray his friends.

He walked out of the jail at eleven o'clock, an eye-witness said, "with a radiant countenance and a step of a conqueror." His face was even joyous, and it has been remarked that probably his was the lightest heart in Charlestown that day. A black woman, with a little child in her arms, stood by the door. He stopped a moment, and, stooping, kissed the child affectionately. Another black woman, with a child, as he passed along, exclaimed, "God bless you, old man! I wish I could help you; but I can't." He looked at her with a tear in his eye.

"John Brown, of Osawatomie, spake on his dying day:
I will not have to shrive my soul a priest in slavery's pay,
But let some poor slave mother whom I have striven to free,
With her children, from the gallows-stair, put up a prayer for me.

John Brown, of Osawatomie, they led him out to die;
And lo! a poor slave-mother with her little child pressed nigh.
Then the bold, blue eye, grew tender, and the old harsh face grew mild,
As he stooped between the jeering ranks and kissed the Negro's child!

The shadows of his stormy life that moment fell apart;
And they who blamed the bloody hand forgave the loving heart.
That kiss from all its guilty means redeemed the good intent,
And round the grizly fighter's hair the Martyr's aureole bent!

EXECUTION OF JOHN BROWN.

Perish with him the folly that seeks through evil good!
Long live the generous purpose unstained with human blood!
Not the raid of midnight terror, but the thought which underlies;
Not the borderer's pride of daring, but the Christian's sacrifice.

Never more may yon Blue Ridges the Northern rifle hear,
Nor see the light of blazing homes flash on the Negro's spear.
But let the free winged angel Truth their guarded passes scale,
To teach that right is more than might, and justice more than mail!

So vainly shall Virginia set her battle in array;
In vain her trampling squadrons knead the winter snow with clay.
She may strike the pouncing eagle, but she dare not harm the dove;
And every gate she bars to hate shall open wide to love!„

He mounted the wagon besides his jailer, Captain Avis, who had been one of the bravest of his captors, who had treated him very kindly, and to whom he was profoundly grateful. The wagon was instantly surrounded by six companies of militia. Being asked on the way if he felt any fear, he replied: "It has been a characteristic of me from infancy not to suffer from physical fear." The day was clear and bright, and he remarked as he rode, that the country seemed very beautiful. Arrived at the gallows he said: "I see no citizens here; where are they?" "None but the troops are allowed to be present," was the reply. "That ought not to be," said he; "citizens should be allowed to be as well as others." He bade adieu to some acquaintances at the foot of the gallows, and was first to mount the scaffold. His step was still firm, and his bearing calm, yet hopeful. The hour having come, he said to Captain Avis: "I have no words to thank you for all your kindness to me." His elbows and ankles were pinioned, the white cap drawn over his eyes, the hangman's rope adjusted around his neck, he stood waiting for death. "Captain Brown," said the Sheriff, "You are not standing on the drop. Will you come forward?" "I can't see," was his firm answer; "You must lead me." The Sheriff led him forward to the center of the drop. "Shall I give you a handkerchief to drop it as a signal?" "No; I am ready at any time; but do not keep me needlessly waiting." In defiance of this reasonable request, he was kept standing several minutes, while a military parade, and display of readiness to repel an imaginary foe were enacted. The time seemed an hour to the impatient spectators;

even the soldiers began to murmur—"Shame!" At last the order was given, the rope cut with a hatchet, and the trap fell; but so short a distance that the victim continued to struggle and to suffer for a considerable time. Being at length duly pronounced dead, he was cut down after thirty-eight minutes suspension. His body was conveyed to Harper's Ferry, and delivered to his widow, by whom it was borne to her far Northern home among the mountains he loved, and where he was so beloved.

There let it rest forever, while the path to it is worn deeper and deeper by the pilgrim feet of the race he so bravely though rashly endeavored to rescue from a hideous and debasing thraldom!



CHAPTER XXIV.

REV. ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY.

"Friend of the Slave,
And yet the friend of all;
Lover of peace, yet ever foremost when
The need of battling Freedom called for men."

REV. ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY, one of the early Abolitionists, was born at Albion, Maine, November 9, 1802. He was the son of Rev. Daniel Lovejoy, and the eldest of seven children. From early youth, he was distinguished, alike for diligence in labor and for zeal and success in the acquisition of knowledge. He graduated with high honors at Waterville College, Maine, in September, 1826. In May following, he turned his face Westward, and in the Autumn of that year found employment as a teacher in St. Louis. In 1828, he became editor of a political journal of the "National Republican" faith, and was thence actively engaged in politics of the Clay and Webster school, until January, 1832, when he was brought under deep religious impressions, and the next month united with the Presbyterian Church.

Relinquishing his political pursuits and prospects, he engaged in a course of study preparatory for the ministry, entering the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey, on the 24th of March. He received, next spring, a license to preach from the Second Presbytery of Philadelphia, and spent the Summer, as an evangelist, in Newport, Rhode Island, and in New York. He left the last named city in the Autumn of that year, and returned to St. Louis at the urgent invitation of a circle of fellow Christians, who desired him to establish and edit a religious newspaper in that city, furnishing him $1,200 for the purpose, and guaranteeing him, in writing, the entire control of the whole concern.

The St. Louis Observer, weekly, was accordingly issued on

the 22d of November. It was of the "Evangelical" or Orthodox Protestant school; but had no controversy, save with wickedness, and no purpose but to quicken the zeal and enlarge the usefulness of professing Christians, while adding, if possible, to their number. There is no evidence that it was commenced with any intent to war on slavery, or with any expectation of exciting the special hostility of any interest but that of Satan.

Its first exhibition of a combative or belligerent tendency had for its object the Roman Catholics and their dogmas; but this, though it naturally provoked some resentment in a city so largely Catholic as St. Louis, excited no tumult or violence. Its first articles concerning slavery were exceedingly moderate in their tone, and favorable rather to Colonization than to immediate Abolition. Even when the editor first took decided ground against slavery, he still affirmed his hostility to immediate unconditional emancipation. This article was in part based on an editorial in a Democratic paper, in St. Louis, of the preceding week, which, discussing a proposed Convention to revise the Constitution of Missouri, said:

"We look to the Convention as a happy means of relieving the State, at some future day, of an evil which is destroying all our wholesome energies, and leaving us, in morals, in enterprise, and in wealth behind the neighboring States. We mean, of course, the curse of slavery. We are not about to make an attack upon the rights of those who at present hold this description of property. They ought to be respected to the letter. We only propose that measures shall now be taken for the abolition of slavery, at such distant period of time as may be expedient, and eventually for ridding the country altogether of a colored population."

Mr. Lovejoy, commenting on the foregoing, wished that some Southern-born man, of high character, and fervent piety, would take up the subject of slavery in a proper spirit, and, being familiar, experimentally, with all its evils and its difficulties, would show people practically, what they ought to do with regard to it. He continued:

"To such a man, a golden opportunity of doing good is offered. We believe the minds of the good people of this State are fully prepared to listen to him,—to give a dispassionate consideration to the facts and reasonings he might present connected with the subject of slavery. Public sentiment, amongst us, is already moving in this great matter—it now wants to be directed in some definite channel, to some definite end. Taken in all, there is not a State in this Union possessing superior natural advantages to our own. At present, slavery, like an incubus, is paralyzing our energies, and like a cloud of evil portent, darkening all our prospects. Let this be removed, and Missouri would at once start forward in the race of improvement, with an energy and rapidity of movement that would soon place her in the front rank, along with the most favored of her sister States."

He continued to speak of slavery at intervals, through that summer, leaving his post in October to attend a regular meeting of the Presbyterian Synod.

Directly after his departure, an excitement commenced with regard to his strictures on slavery; and the proprietors of The Observer, alarmed by threats of mob-violence, issued a card, promising that nothing should be said on the exciting subject until the editor's return; and, this not proving satisfactory, they issued a further card on the 21st, declaring themselves, "one and all," opposed to the mad schemes of the Abolitionists. Before this, a letter had been written to the editor, by nine eminent citizens of St. Louis, urging him "to pass over in silence" everything connected with the subject of slavery; which, in due time, he respectfully declined.

The immediate cause of the excitement here alleged, was the violent seizure, in Illinois, of two white men suspected of having decoyed slaves away from St. Louis. The suspected persons, having been forcibly brought to St. Louis, and there tried and convicted by a mob, which voted, forty to twenty, to whip, rather than hang them, were accordingly taken two miles back of the city, and there whipped with between one hundred and two hundred lashes—the sixty wealthy and respectable citizens

taking turns in applying the lash. A public meeting was thereupon held wherein it was bravoly

"*Resolved*, That the right of free discussion and freedom of speech exists under the Constitution; but that, being a conventional reservation made by the people in their sovereign capacity, does not imply a moral right, on the part of the Abolitionists, to freely discuss the subject of slavery, either orally or through the medium of the press. It is the agitation of a question too nearly allied to the vital interests of the slave-holding States to admit of public disputation; and so far from the fact, that the movements of the Abolitionists are constitutional, they are in the greatest degree seditious, and calculated to incite insurrection and anarchy, and ultimately, a dissevernment of our prosperous Union.

"*Resolved*, That we consider the course pursued by the Abolitionists, as one calculated to paralyze every social tie by which we are now united to our fellow-man, and that, if persisted in, it must eventually be the cause of the disseverment of these United States, and that the doctrine of *amalgamation* is peculiarly baneful to the interests and happiness of society. The union of Black and white in a moral point of view, we consider as the most preposterous and impudent doctrine advanced by the infatuated Abolitionists—as repugnant to judgment and science, as it is degrading to the feelings of all sensitive minds—as destructive to the intellect of after generations, as the advance of science and literature has contributed to the improvement of our own. In short, its practice would reduce the high intellectual standard of the American mind to a level with the Hottentot; and the United States, now second to no nation on earth, would, in a few years, be what Europe was in the darkest ages.

"*Resolved*, That the Sacred Writings furnish abundant evidence of the existence of slavery from the earliest periods. The Patriarchs and Prophets possessed Slaves, and our Savior recognized the relation between Master and Slave, and deprecated it not; hence, we know that he did not condemn that relation; on the contrary, his disciples, in all coun-

tries, designated their respective duties to each other. Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we consider slavery, as it now exists in the United States, as sanctioned by the Sacred Scriptures."

Mr. Lovejoy, on his return to the city, put forth an address to "My Fellow Citizens," wherein he said:

"Of the first resolution passed at the meeting of the 24th of October, I have nothing to say, except that I perfectly agree with the sentiments, that the citizens of the non-slave-holding States have no right to interfere with the domestic relations between master and slave.

"The second resolution, strictly speaking, neither affirms nor denies anything in reference to the matter in hand. No man has a *moral* right to do anything improper, whether, therefore, he has the moral right to discuss the question of slavery, is a point with which human legislation or resolutions have nothing to do. The true issue to be decided is, whether he has the *civil*, the *political* right to discuss it or not. And this is a mere question of fact. In Russia, in Turkey, in Austria, nay, even in France, this right most certainly does not exist. But does it exist in Missouri? We decide this question by turning to the Constitution of the State. The 16th Section, Article 13, of the Constitution of Missouri, reads as follows:

"'That the free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invulnerable rights of man, and that every person may freely speak, write and print on *any subject*, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.'

"Here, then, I find my warrant for using, as Paul did, all freedom of speech. If I abuse that right, I freely acknowledge myself amenable to the laws. But it is said that the right to hold slaves is a constitutional one, and, therefore, not to be called in question. I admit the premise, but deny the conclusion."

Mr. Lovejoy proceeded to set forth that two persons had recently landed on our shores from England, and had traversed our country, publicly propagating doctrines respecting divorce, which were generally regarded as destructive to the institution

of marriage, yet they were nowhere mobbed nor assaulted for so doing. "And yet, most surely, the institutions of slavery are not more interwoven with the structure of our society, than those of marriage." He continued:

"See the danger, and the natural and inevitable result, to which the first step here will lead. To-day, a public meeting declares that you shall not discuss slavery in any of its bearings, civil or religious. Right or wrong, the press must be silent. To-morrow, another meeting decides that it is against the peace of society, that the principles of Popery shall be discussed, and the edict goes forth to muzzle the press. The next day it is, in a similar manner, declared that not a word must be said against drunkenness; and so on to the end of the chapter. The truth is, my fellow citizens, if you give ground a single inch there is no stopping place. I deem it, therefore, my duty to take my stand upon the Constitution. Here is firm ground. I feel it to be such. And I do, most respectfully, yet decidedly, declare to you my fixed determination to maintain this ground. We have slaves it is true; but I am not one. I am a citizen of these United States, a citizen of Missouri, free born; and, having never forfeited the inestimable privileges attached to such a condition, I cannot consent to surrender them. But while I maintain them, I hope to do it with all that meekness and humility that becomes a Christian, and especially a Christian minister. I am ready, not to fight, but to suffer, and if need be, to die for them. Kindred blood, to that which flows in my veins, flowed freely to water the tree of Christian liberty, planted by the Puritans on the rugged soil of New England. It flowed as freely on the plains of Lexington, the heights of Bunker Hill, and the fields of Saratoga. And freely, too, shall mine flow, yea, as freely as if it were so much water, ere I surrender my right to plead the cause of truth and righteousness before my fellow citizens, and in the face of all their opposers."

In this strain he continued to review and refute all the positions and doctrines of these resolutions, and toward the close of his appeal said:

"If in anything I have offended against the laws of my

country, or its Constitution, I stand ready to answer. If I have not, then I call upon the laws and that Constitution, and those who revere them, to protect me.

"I *do*, therefore, as an American citizen and Christian patriot, and in the name of liberty, and law, and religion, solemnly PROTEST against all these attempts, howsoever or by whomsoever made, to frown down the liberty of the press, and forbid the free expression of opinion. Under a deep sense of my obligations to my country, the Church and my God, I declare it to be my fixed purpose to submit to no such dictation. *And I am prepared to abide the consequences.* I have appealed to the Constitution and laws of my country; if they fail to protect me, I APPEAL TO GOD, and with Him I cheerfully rest my cause."

The Observer failed for one week to appear, but was issued regularly thereafter. On the request of its proprietors, Mr. Lovejoy gave up the establishment to them, intending to leave St. Louis; but they handed it over in payment of a debt of five hundred dollars, and the new owner immediately presented it to Mr. Lovejoy, telling him to go on with the paper as before. He had gone to Alton, Illinois, expecting to remove it to that city; but, while there, a letter reached him from St. Louis, urging him to return and remain, which he did.

On the 28th of April, 1836, a quarrel occurred between two sailors or boatmen, at the steamboat landing in St. Louis. When the civil officers attempted to arrest them for a breach of the peace, a mulatto named Francis J. McIntosh interfered, and enabled the boatmen to escape, for which he was very properly arrested, carried before a justice of the peace, and committed to jail.

On his way thither, being informed that his punishment would be not less than five years in the State prison, he immediately broke loose from the officers, drew a knife, and stabbed one of them fatally, severely wounding the other. He was instantly secured and lodged in jail. A mob thereupon collected, broke open the jail, tore him from his cell, carried him out of town, and chained him to a tree, around which they

piled rails, plank, shavings, etc., to the height of his knees, and then applied fire. He was burning in fearful agony about twenty minutes before life became extinct. When the fire had nearly died out, a rabble of boys amused themselves by throwing stones at the black and disfigured corpse, each endeavoring to be first in breaking in the skull.

This horrible affair came in due course before the grand jury of St. Louis, for investigation, and a Judge, who bore the opposite name of Lawless, was required to charge said jury with regard to it. Here is a specimen of his charge:

"If, on the other hand, the destruction of the murderer of Hammond was the act, as I have said, of the many—of the multitude, in the ordinary sense of these words—not the act of numerable and ascertainable malefactors, but of congregated thousands, seized upon and impelled by that mysterious, metaphysical and almost elective frenzy, which, in all ages and Nations, has hurried on the infuriated multitude to deeds of death and destruction—then, I say act not at all in the matter; the case then transcends your jurisdiction—it is beyond the reach of human law!"

On this charge Mr. Lovejoy commented with entire unreserve; whereupon a mob surrounded and tore down his office —although, in the issue which contained his strictures, he had announced his decision to remove the paper to Alton, believing that it would be there more useful and better supported than at St. Louis. His first issue at Alton was dated September 8.

Meantime, his press was taken from St. Louis, by steamboat, to Alton, and landed on the bank about daylight on Sunday morning. It lay there in safety through the Sabbath; but before the next morning, it had been destroyed by some five or six individuals.

On Monday a meeting of citizens was held, and a pledge voluntarily given to make good to Mr. Lovejoy his loss. The meeting passed some resolutions condemnatory of Abolitionism, and Mr. Lovejoy assured them that he had not come to Alton to establish an Abolition, but a religious journal; that he was not an Abolitionist, as they understood the term, but was an

uncompromising enemy of slavery, and so expected to live and die.

He started for Cincinnati to procure new printing materials, was taken sick on the way, and upon his return, was impelled by increasing illness to stop. He remained there sick, in the house of a friend for a week and was still quite ill after his return.

The Observer continued to appear regularly at Alton until August 17, 1837,—among other topics, discussing slavery, but occasionally, and in a spirit of decided moderation. But no moderation could satisfy those who had determined that the subject should not be discussed at all. On July 11, an anonymous handbill appeared, calling a meeting at the market place for the next Thursday, at which time a large concourse assembled. Dr. J. A. Halderman presided, and Mr. J. P. Jordan was Secretary. This meeting passed the following resolves :

"1st. *Resolved*, That the Rev. E. P. Lovejoy has again taken up and advocated the principles of Abolitionism through his paper the Observer, contrary to the disposition and will of a majority of the citizens of Alton, and in direct violation of a sacred pledge and assurance that this paper, when established in Alton, should not be devoted to Abolitionism.

"2d. *Resolved*, That we disapprove of the course of the Observer, in publishing any articles favorable to Abolitionism, and that we *censure* Mr. Lovejoy for permitting such publications to appear in his paper, when a pledge or assurance has been given to this community, by him, that such doctrines should not be advocated.

"3d. *Resolved*, That a committee of five citizens be appointed by this meeting to wait upon and confer with Mr. Lovejoy, and ascertain from him whether he intends, in the future, to disseminate, through the columns of the Observer, the doctrines of Abolitionism, and report the result of their conference to the public."

The only point requiring comment in these resolves is the charge that Mr. Lovejoy had pledged himself not to discuss the

subject of slavery or its abolition. This question was answered by ten reputable citizens of Alton, who agreed on the following statement:

"Whereas, it has been frequently represented that the Reverend E. P. Lovejoy, late editor of the Alton Observer, solemnly pledged himself at a public meeting, called for the purpose of taking measures to bring to justice the persons engaged in the destruction of the first press brought to Alton by said Lovejoy, not to discuss the subject of slavery; we, the undersigned, declare the following to be his language, in substance: 'My principal object in coming to this place is to establish a religious paper. When I was in St. Louis, I felt myself called upon to treat at large upon the subject of slavery, as I was in a State where the evil existed, and as a citizen of that State I felt it my duty to devote a part of my columns to that subject; but, gentlemen, I am not, and never was, in full fellowship with the Abolitionists; but, on the contrary, have had some spirited discussions with some of the leading Abolitionists of the East, and am not considered by them as one of them. And now having come into a free State, where the evil does not exist, I feel myself less called upon to discuss the subject than when I was in St. Louis.' The above, as we have stated, was his language in substance. The following, we are willing to testify, to be his words in conclusion:

"'But, gentlemen, so long as I am an American citizen, so long as American blood runs in these veins, I shall hold myself at liberty to speak, to write, and to publish, whatever I please on any subject, being amenable to the laws of my country for the same.'"

On the 24th, a committee from the aforesaid meeting presented its resolves to Mr. Lovejoy, asking a reply thereto. That reply was given on the 26th, and its material portion was as follows:

"You will, therefore, permit me to say that, with the most respectful feelings toward you individually, I cannot consent, in this answer, to recognize you as the official organ of a public meeting, convened to discuss the question, whether certain sen-

timents should, or should not, be discussed in the public newspaper, of which I am the editor. By doing so I should virtually admit that the liberty of the press, and the freedom of speech, were rightfully subject to other supervision and control than those of the law. But this I cannot admit. On the contrary, in the language of one of the speakers at the meeting, I believe that 'the valor of our forefathers has won for us the liberty of speech,' and that it is 'our duty and our high privilege to act and speak on *all questions* touching this great commonwealth.' I am happy, gentlemen, in being able to concur in the above sentiments, which I perceive, were uttered by one of your own members, in which, I cannot doubt, you all agree. I would only add that I consider this 'liberty' was ascertained, but never originated, by our forefathers.

"It comes to us, as I conceive, from our Maker, and is, in its nature, inalienable, belonging to man as man.

"Believing, therefore, that everything having a tendency to bring this right into jeopardy is eminently dangerous as a precedent, I cannot admit that it can be called into question by any man, or body of men, or that they can, with any propriety, question me as to my exercise of it."

The attention of the whole country was attracted by these proceedings, especially St. Louis, to whose pro-slavery politicians the publication of the Observer, though not in their city or State, was still an eyesore. On the 17th of August a Democratic paper of St. Louis, in an article entitled "Abolition," said:

"We perceive that an Anti-slavery Society has been formed at Upper Alton, and many others, doubtless, will shortly spring up in different parts of the State. We had hoped that our neighbors would have ejected from amongst them that minister of mischief, the Observer, or at least corrected its course. Something must be done in this matter and that speedily! The good people of Illinois must either put a stop to the efforts of these fanatics, or expel them from their community. If this is not done the travel of emigrants through their State, and the trade of the slave holding States, and par-

ticularly Missouri, must stop. Every one who desires the harmony of the country, and the peace and prosperity of all, should unite to put them down. They can do no positive good, and may do much irreparable harm. We would not desire to see this done at the expense of public order or legal restraint, but there is a moral indignation which the virtuous portion of a community may exert, which is sufficient to crush this faction and forever disgrace its fanatic instigators. It is to this we appeal, and hope that the appeal will not be unheeded."

These recommendations and incitements were not unfruitful. Four days thereafter, two unsuccessful attempts having already been made, the office of the Observer was entered between the hours of ten and eleven at night, by a band of fifteen or twenty persons, and the press, type, etc., utterly destroyed. The mob commenced, as usual, by throwing stones at the building, whereby one man was hit on the head and severely wounded; whereupon the office was deserted, and the destroyers finished their work without opposition, while a large concourse were "looking on and consenting." The authorities did *nothing* most rigorously. Mr. Lovejoy was absent at the time, but was met in the street by the mob, who stopped him, threatened him, and assailed him with vile language, but did him no serious harm.

In the Observer of the preceding day, he had made an explicit and effective response to the question—"What are the doctrines of anti-slavery men?" wherein he had succeeded in being at once moderate and forcible, affirming most explicitly the flagrant wrong of slave-holding, with the right and immediate policy of immediate emancipation, but explaining that such an emancipation was to be effected "by the masters themselves, and no others," who were to be persuaded to it; but though his doctrines were peaceable, and his language mild and deprecatory, he doubtless irritated and annoyed his adversaries by pointing to the fact—in refuting their slang about amalgamation—that the then Vice-President of the United States, Richard M. Johnson, "has been, if he is not now, the father of

slaves. And thousands have voted to elevate him to his present condition, who would crucify an Abolitionist on the bare suspicion of favoring, though only in theory, such an amalgamation. How shall we account for such inconsistency?"

On the 24th of August, he issued an appeal to the friends of law and order for aid in re-establishing the Observer; and this appeal was generously and promptly responded to. Having obtained a sufficient amount in Alton and Quincy alone, he sent to Cincinnati to purchase new printing materials. Meantime, he issued an address submitting "To the Friends of the Redeemer in Alton" his resignation of the editorship of the paper, offering to hand over to them the subscription list, now exceeding two thousand names, on condition that they pay the debts of the concern, receive all dues and assets, and furnish him sufficient means to remove himself and family to another field of labor. A meeting was accordingly held which resolved that the Observer ought to be continued, while the question of retaining Mr. Lovejoy as its editor was discussed through two or three evenings, but left undecided.

Meantime, while he was absent, attending a meeting of the Presbytery, his new press—the third which he had brought to Alton within little more than a year—arrived on the 21st of September, was landed about sunset, and immediately conveyed by his friends to the warehouse of Geary & Weller. As it passed along the streets—"There goes the Abolition press! stop it! stop it!" was cried, but no violence was attempted. The mayor, apprised of its arrival, and also of its peril, gave assurance that it should be protected, and asked its friends to leave the matter entirely in his hands, which they did. A constable was posted by the Mayor at the door of the warehouse, with orders to remain until a certain hour. He left at that hour, and immediately ten or twenty ruffians, with handkerchiefs tied over their faces, broke open the store, rolled the press across the street to the river bank and broke it into pieces, and threw it in. Before they had finished the job, the Mayor was on hand, and ordered them to disperse. They replied, "that they would as soon as they got through," and were as

good as their word. The Mayor declared that he never witnessed a more quiet and gentlemanly mob!

Mr. Lovejoy preached at St. Charles, Missouri, the home of his wife's relatives, a few days after October 1, and was mobbed at the house of his mother-in-law, directly after his return from evening church. The mob attempted, with oaths and blows, to drag him from the house, but were defeated, mainly through the courageous efforts of his wife and one or two friends. Three times the house was broken into and a rush made upstairs; and, finally, Mr. Lovejoy was induced, through the entreaties of his wife, to leave it clandestinely and take refuge with a friend a mile distant, whence he and his wife made their way back to Alton next day. Nearly one of the first they met there, was one of those who had first broken into the house at St. Charles, and the hunted clergyman had the cold comfort of hearing, from many of his religious brethren, that he had no one to thank but himself for his persecutions, and that if the Observer were re-established, they would do nothing to protect it.

During the following month, Mr. Lovejoy attended the meeting of the Presbyterian Synod of Illinois, at Springfield, as also meetings of an Anti-slavery Convention in Upper Alton, and one or two meetings held at the Court House in Alton, to discuss and determine the propriety of allowing him to continue the publication of the Observer.

At the last of these meetings (November 3), having obtained the floor, he said:

"Mr. Chairman: It is not true, as has been charged upon me, that I hold in contempt the feelings and sentiments of this community, in reference to the question which is now agitating it. I respect and appreciate the feelings of my fellow citizens; and it is one of the most painful and unpleasant duties of my life, that I am called upon to act in opposition to them. If you suppose, sir, that I have published sentiments contrary to those generally held in this community, because I delighted in differing from them, you have entirely misapprehended me. But, sir, while I value the good opinion of my fellow citizens

as highly as any one, I may be permitted to say that I am governed by higher considerations than either the favor or fear of man. I am impelled to the course I have taken, because I fear God. As I shall answer it to my God in the great day, I dare not abandon my sentiments, nor cease in all proper ways to propagate them.

"I, Mr. Chairman, have not desired nor asked any *compromise.* I have asked for nothing but to be protected in my rights as a citizen,—rights which God has given me, and which are guaranteed to me by the Constitution of my country. Have I, Sir, been guilty of any infraction of the laws? Whose good name have I injured? When and where have I published anything injurious to the reputation of Alton? Have I not, on the other hand, labored in common with the rest of my fellow citizens, to promote the reputation and interests of this city? What, Sir, I ask, has been my offense? Put your finger upon it, define it, and I stand ready to answer for it. If I have committed any crime, you can easily convict me. You have public sentiment in your favor. You have your juries, and you have your attorney (looking at the Attorney-General), and I have *no doubt* you can *convict* me. But if I have been guilty of no violation of law, why am I hunted up and down continually like a partridge upon the mountains? Why am I threatened with the *tar-barrel?* Why am I waylaid every day, and from night to night? And why is my life in jeopardy every hour?

"You have, Sir, made up, as the lawyers say, a false issue; there are not two parties between whom there can be a *compromise.* I plant myself, Sir, down on my unquestionable *rights;* and the question to be decided is, whether I shall be protected in the exercise and enjoyment of those rights—*that is the question, Sir*—whether my property shall be protected—whether I shall be suffered to go home to my family at night without being assailed, and threatened with tar and feathers, and assassination; whether my afflicted wife, whose life has been in jeopardy from continued alarm and excitement, shall night after night be driven from a sick bed into the garret to save her life from the brickbats and violence of the mob, that,

Sir, is the question." Here, much affected and overcome by his feelings, he burst into tears. Many, not excepting even his enemies, wept—several sobbed aloud—and the sympathies of the whole meeting were deeply excited. He continued:

"Forgive me, Sir, that I have thus betrayed my weakness. It was the allusion to my family that overcame my feelings. Not, Sir, I assure you, from any fears on my part. I have no personal fears. Not that I feel able to contest the matter with the whole community. I know perfectly well that I am not. I know, Sir, that you can tar and feather me, hang me up, or put me into the Mississippi, without the least difficulty. But what then? Where shall I go? I have been made to feel that, if I am not safe at Alton, I shall not be safe anywhere. I recently visited St. Charles to bring home my family, and was torn from their frantic embrace by a mob. I have been beset night and day at Alton. And now, if I leave here and go elsewhere, violence may overtake me in my retreat, and I have no more claim upon the protection of another community than I have upon this; and I have concluded, after consultation with my friends, and earnestly seeking counsel of God, *to remain at Alton*, and here to insist on protection in the exercise of my rights. If the civil authorities refuse to protect me, I must look to God; and if I die, I have determined to make my grave in Alton."

It was known in Alton that a new press was now on the way to Mr. Lovejoy, and might arrive at any time. Great excitement pervaded the community. Friends were on the alert to protect it on its arrival, and enemies to insure its destruction. It finally reached St. Louis on the night of the 5th, and an arrangement was made to have it landed at Alton at three o'clock on the morning of the 7th. Meantime, Mr. Lovejoy and a friend went to the Mayor and notified him of its expected arrival, and of the threats that it should be destroyed, requesting the appointment of special constables to protect it. A meeting was held, and some discussion had; but the subject was laid on the table and nothing done.

On that evening (November 6), between forty and fifty citizens met in the warehouse of Godfrey, Gilman & Co., where the press was to be stored, to organize a volunteer company to aid in the defense of law and order.

At ten o'clock, several left; but about thirty remained in the building, with one city constable to command them. They were armed. Mr. Lovejoy was not among them. His dwelling had been attacked but a few nights before, when he and a sister narrowly escaped a brickbat, thrown with sufficient force to have done mortal injury. Expecting an assault, his wife in a very delicate state of nervous alarm from her recent experience at St. Charles, Mr. Lovejoy had arranged with a brother that they should watch alternate nights at home and at the store. At three in the morning, a steamboat brought the expected press. A sentinel of the mob was watching for it, and immediately gave the alarm, when horns were blown throughout the city. The Mayor had already been called, and was in the building. He requested those who guarded there, to remain and keep quiet till he called for them, saying that he would attend to the storing of the press, which he did. A few stones were thrown, but no serious damage effected, and the press was safely deposited in the garret of a strong stone warehouse, where it was thought to be safe.

Throughout the following day, general quiet prevailed, though it was well known that "the Abolition press" had been received, and was stored in Godfrey & Gilman's warehouse. The Mayor made inquiries at several points, and was satisfied that no further violence was intended.

At evening, the volunteer defenders of Mr. Lovejoy's rights dropped in at the warehouse, and remained until nine o'clock; when, there being no signs of trouble, all but twelve went away. Mr. Lovejoy remained with one or two others who were called Abolitionists. The residue were simply citizens, opposed to burglary and robbery, and willing to risk their lives in defense of the rights of property and the freedom of the press.

About ten o'clock, some thirty persons, as if by preconcert, suddenly emerged from a neighboring saloon, a few of them

with arms, but the majority with only stones in their hands—formed a line at the south end of the store, next the river, knocked, and hailed Mr. Gilman, from the garret door, who asked what they wanted. Their leader replied: "The press." Mr. Gilman assured them that it would not be given up; adding: "We have no ill feelings toward any of you, and should much regret to do you any injury; but we are authorized by the Mayor to defend our property, and shall do so with our lives." The leader replied that they were resolved to have the press at any sacrifice, and presented a pistol, whereupon Mr. Gilman retired into the building. The mob then passed around to the opposite side of the warehouse, and commenced throwing stones, which soon demolished several of the windows. No resistance was offered; the inmates having agreed not to fire unless their lives were in danger. The warehouse being of stone, and solidly built, no further impression was made on it by this assault. Finding their missiles ineffectual, the mob fired two or three guns into the building, by which no one was hit. The fire was then returned, and several of the rioters wounded, one of them mortally. Hereupon, the mob recoiled, carrying off the wounded. But they soon returned with ladders, and other preparations for firing the roof of the warehouse, cursing and shouting, "Burn them out! burn them out!" They kept carefully on the side of the building where there were no windows, so that they could not be injured or repelled by its defenders.

The Mayor and a justice were now deputed by the mob to bear a message to the inmates of the building, proposing that, on condition the press was given up, no one should be further molested, and no more property destroyed. The proposition was quietly declined. Mr. Gilman, in turn, requested the Mayor to call on certain citizens to save his store from destruction by fire. The Mayor replied that the mob was so strong and determined that he could do nothing—that he had already tried to command and persuade them to desist, but without success. He was asked if those in the building should defend their property with arms; to which he replied, as he had repeat-

edly done before, that they had a perfect right to do so, and the law justified them in that course. He then left the building, and reported the result of his mission, which was received with yells of "Fire the building!" "Fire the building!" "Burn 'em out!" "Burn 'em out!" "Shoot every d——d Abolitionist as he leaves!" It was now near midnight, and the bells had been rung, collecting a large concourse, who stood passive spectators of what followed.

The mob now raised their ladders against the building, mounted to the roof, and kindled a fire there, which burned rather slowly. Five of the defenders hereupon volunteered to sally out and drive them away. They left by the south door, passed around the corner to the east side of the building, and, firing upon the man who guarded the foot of the ladder, drove him off, and dispersed his immediate comrades, returning to the store to reload. Mr. Lovejoy and two others stepped again to the door, and stood looking around just without the building —Mr. Lovejoy in advance of the others. Several of the rioters were concealed from their view behind a pile of lumber a few rods in their front. One of them had a double-barreled gun, which he fired. Mr. Lovejoy received five balls, three of them in his breast, probably each fatal. He turned quickly, ran into the store, and up a flight of stairs into the counting room, where he fell, exclaiming, "Oh God, I am shot! I am shot!" and almost instantly expired. One of his friends received at the same instant a ball in his leg, of which he recovered. Those remaining alive in the building now held a consultation, and concluded to surrender. One of their number went up to the scuttle and apprised the mob that Mr. Lovejoy was dead, and that the press would now be given up. A yell of exultation was sent up by the rioters, and the proposed surrender declined. Another of the inmates now resolved to go out and make some terms, if possible; but he had hardly opened the door when he was fired upon and severely wounded. A citizen now came to the door at the opposite end, and begged those within to leave the building, as it was on fire, and their remaining would be utterly useless. All but two or three hereupon

laid down their arms, left the building and fled, being fired upon by the mob as they escaped. The rioters then rushed into the building, threw the press out of the window, broke it up and pitched the pieces into the river. They destroyed no other property save a few guns. One of them, a doctor—offered to extract the ball from the wounded man's leg; but he declined their assistance. At two o'clock, they had dispersed, and all was again quiet.

Mr. Lovejoy's dead body was borne away next morning to his home, amid the jeers and scoffs of his murderers. He was buried the day following—Thursday, November 9, the day which, had he been living, would have completed his thirty-fifth year. His wife, who, on account of the critical state of her health, had been sent away from Alton, was unable to attend his funeral. Of their two children, one was born after his death.

The defenders of the warehouse, as well as the recognized leaders of their assailants, were respectively indicted for riot, and tried, or rather Mr. Gilman alone of the defenders was tried; and upon his acquittal the City Attorney entered *nolle prosequi* as to the other defendants. The leading rioters were next placed on trial, and were likewise acquitted.

The details of this tragedy are important, as they serve to silence two cavils, which have been most familiar in the mouths of the champions of slavery. "If you want to oppose slavery, why don't you go where it is?" has been triumphantly asked many thousands of times. Mr. Lovejoy did exactly this—as Garrison, and many others had done before him—and only left a slave for a free State, when such removal was imperatively demanded. "Why don't you keep clear of the fanatical Abolitionists, and discuss the question in moderation and good temper?" He was not the advocate of Garrisonism; on the contrary he condemned it. He was not the champion of any political party, nor of any peculiar line of Anti-slavery action. He did not publish any Abolition journal. His was simply and purely a religious newspaper, in which slavery was from time to time discussed, and its evils exposed like those of drunken-

ness or any other immorality. But this he was not permitted to do, whether in a slave or in a free State. He was proscribed, hunted, persecuted, assaulted, plundered, and finally murdered —not because he persisted in opposing slavery in the wrong place, or in a peculiarly objectionable manner, but because he would not desist from opposing it at all.



CHAPTER XXV.

OTHER NOTED ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATORS.

"I would not have a slave to till my ground,
To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,
And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth
That sinews bought and sold, have ever earned."

SOLON, the most famous of all the ancient Greek law givers, was born at Athens about 638 B. C., and belonged to one of the most distinguished families of Attica. He repealed the cruel laws of Draco, by which the aristocracy had oppressed the people, and formed a code which released the debtor class from the power of their creditors, by whom they had been held in slavery. The celebrated laws of Solon were an attempt to remedy the discontents of the people, chiefly arising from the severe laws drawn up by Draco, called the Cruel, and which served the purpose of the aristocratic party by their severity.

Solon was one of the most meritorious men recorded in history; for while all who acquired influence in Athens in his day used it to make themselves despotically powerful, he employed his to make a code of laws to disarm tyranny. It had the effect of releasing a vast number of people from abject slavery, by relieving them from the demands of their creditors.

It has been thought from this, that Solon's laws were a system of repudiation, by which those who had contracted debts were released from the fulfillment of them; but the law had gone so far astray, in the other direction, by giving the rich, who did the poor any service, such inhuman power over them, that it was necessary to make some adjustment to prevent anarchy and turbulence. It shows how many tyrannical powers had to be modified, that by his laws, fathers are prohibited from selling their daughters, and brothers, their sisters as slaves.

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE was born at Hull, England, on the

24th of August, 1759. His father was a wealthy gentleman, and by occupation a merchant, his ancestors being the proprietors of Wilberfoss, in the East Riding of York. While at school, he addressed a letter to an English paper, published in York, "in condemnation of the odious traffic in human flesh," a subject he seems never to have lost sight of. He entered St. John's College, at Cambridge, in his seventeenth year, and, in due time, he passed his examination with great credit. On attaining his majority, he came into possession of a large fortune, and determined to enter Parliament. In the year 1780, he was returned for Hull. He became acquainted with Mr. Pitt when at Cambridge, and in London, at Parliament, they became inseparable friends. While in Parliament, Wilberforce remained independent of party. In 1787, he founded an association for the discouragement of vice, and in the following year, while in very poor health, he entered on his great struggle for the abolition of the slave trade, to which he thenceforward devoted his whole time.

He first proposed the abolition of the slave trade in the House of Commons, in 1791, and met, as he expected, with powerful opposition. In 1804, his bill was first carried through the Commons; it was thrown out in the House of Lords, and in the following year it was again lost in the House of Commons. In 1806, however, a resolution was moved by Mr. Fox, pledging the Commons to a total abolition of the slave trade in the following session. It was adopted by the House of Lords. Just before the discussion began, in January, 1804, a work had been published by Wilberforce, against the slave trade, which had a marked influence on public opinion and the subsequent debates. The bill was passed by the House of Lords. In the Commons, it was carried by an enthusiastic majority. Sir Samuel Romilly, who supported the measure, compared the feelings of Napoleon, then at the height of his glory, with those of the English philanthropist, "who would that day lay his head upon his pillow and remember that the slave trade was no more," and the whole house burst into applause, and greeted Wilberforce with enthusiastic cheers.

Wilberforce now sought to secure the abolition of the slave trade abroad. He at the same time entered on an agitation for the total abolition of slavery itself. Declining health, however, compelled him in 1825 to retire from Parliament. The movement against slavery was then intrusted to Sir T. Fowell Buxton. Three days before Wilberforce's death, news was brought him that the Abolition Bill had passed a second reading, and he thanked God that he had lived to see his countrymen spend twenty millions sterling (nearly $100,000,000) in such a humane cause. He died on the 29th of July, 1833, and was buried as a national benefactor in Westminster Abbey.

William Lloyd Garrison was another distinguished abolitionist, and was born at Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1805. He soon became the acknowledged leader of the advocates of immediate emancipation in the United States. Before he was twenty years old, he had acquired no inconsiderable reputation by the articles which he contributed to the Salem Gazette, and other newspapers. He became, in 1826, the conductor of a paper of his own, the Free Press, published at Newburyport; it was, however, unsuccessful and was soon discontinued. In 1829, he became joint editor of a paper entitled the Genius of Universal Emancipation, an Anti-slavery journal published in Baltimore. On the 1st of January, 1831, Garrison issued in Boston, the first number of the Liberator, an Anti-slavery paper, with which his fame became indissolubly associated. The unsparing, not to say virulent, denunciation, with which Garrison assailed the institution of slavery, and all those voluntarily, however remotely, connected with it, was not long in arousing attention in every part of the country, while it excited in the Southern States, the utmost exasperation. Almost every day brought him letters from the South, containing threats of violence *and even assassination.*

At length, the Legislature of Georgia went so far as to offer five thousand dollars to anyone who should arrest and prosecute him to conviction under the laws of that State. Meanwhile, he was repeatedly mobbed at home, was dragged off to

prison, and his life was more than once in utmost peril even in Boston. But nothing could turn him from his course. Subsequently there was some abatement in the tone of the Liberator, but Garrison did not, in a single material point, modify his views in regard to slavery until its abolition was effected. The early severity of his denunciations, as his friends allege, with some show of reason was necessary, in order to arouse the conscience of the Nation from its apathy respecting the wrongs of the Colored Race. It would be, perhaps, less easy to excuse the unsparing invective with which Mr. Garrison so often assailed those friends of emancipation who thought it right to pursue a different course from his own.

It is proper to remark that Mr. Garrison and his devoted followers always disclaimed any purpose of exciting the enslaved Colored Race to assert their own freedom by force. They professed to rely solely on argument and "moral suasion," addressed to the consciences of the dominant whites. They were also non-resistants, and not only refused to hold any office in the Federal Republic, but were conscientious even against voting for such an office, for they considered this would be an indirect acknowledgment of the rightfulness of a government supported by military power, and contaminated by a compromise with slavery. In 1865, after the total abolition of slavery in the United States, his friends presented him with $30,000 as a memorial of his services in behalf of the Colored Race. He died in New York, May 24, 1879.

WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD, an American statesman, early manifested a desire that slavery should be extinguished in the United States. He was born at the town of Florida, New York, May 16, 1803. At 15 years he entered Union College; and in 1819 he visited the South, and for six months was engaged as a school teacher in Georgia. He next studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1822. He then settled at Auburn, Western New York, and became the partner and son-in-law of Judge Miller. In 1825, his political abilities were manifested in an oration delivered at Syracuse, and in 1828, he was chosen President of a State Convention. At this period New York was

the centre of a wide-spread excitement againt Free Masons, and Seward as a leading Anti-mason was elected to the State Senate. In 1837 he was elected Governor of New York; in this position he recommended the increase of education, internal improvements, a liberal policy towards foreign immigrants, and took the side of abolition in the growing controversies on slavery. In 1849, he was elected to the Senate of the United States, where he became the acknowledged leader of his party, and in the debate on the admission of California, he promulgated what was called his "higher law" doctrine in saying that there was a "higher law than the Constitution which regulated the authority of Congress over the National Domain—the law of God and the interest of humanity." In a speech at Rochester, New York, in 1858, he declared that "there was an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces," and that the United States must become either entirely *slave* or entirely *free*.

In 1859, he revisited Europe, and extended his tour to Egypt and the Holy Land, and in 1860, was the most prominent candidate of the Republican party for nomination for the Presidency. Mr. Seward accepted the important post of Secretary of State under President Lincoln, and guided the diplomacy of the Federal Government through the perils of the War of Secession, with almost unparalleled energy and success. On the invasion of Mexico by the French in 1862, he persisted in recognizing the Government of Juarez. In 1865, he declared the attempt to establish a foreign and imperial government in Mexico to be disallowable and impracticable. The French army was accordingly withdrawn in 1866, and Napoleon III. humiliated by the failure of his enterprise.

On the 14th of April, 1865, President Lincoln was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth, and at the same time another assassin, named Payne, penetrated to the room of Mr. Seward, dangerously wounded his son, and with a poignard inflicted wounds upon Mr. Seward, which were at first believed to be fatal, but from which he slowly recovered. In 1868-69, he made a voyage to Alaska, the purchase of which he successfully advocated, and visited California and Mexico on the route.

In 1870-71, he visited China, Japan and Egypt, being everywhere received with distinguished honors. The Mikado of Japan gave him a private audience, an honor never before accorded to a foreigner. He died at Auburn, New York, October 10, 1872.

CHARLES SUMNER, another zealous friend of the Colored Race, and American statesman, was born at Boston, Massachusetts, January 6, 1811. His father was a lawyer, and for many years Sheriff of the county. He was educated at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1830; studied law at the Cambridge Law School; was admitted to the bar in 1834, and entered upon a large practice; edited the "American Jurist:" published three volumes of Sumner's "Reports of the Circuit Court of the United States;" gave lectures at the Law School, but declined a proffered professorship; and from 1837 to 1840, visited England and the continent of Europe. On his return he edited "Vesey's Reports," in twenty volumes, and in 1845, made his debut in politics in a Fourth of July oration, on the True Grandeur of Nations—an oration against War, and the war with Mexico, pronounced by Mr. Cobden, the noblest contribution of any modern writer to the cause of peace.

Identifying himself with the Free-soil party, he was in 1850, chosen United States Senator from Massachusetts, in place of Daniel Webster, where he opposed the Fugitive Slave Law, and declared "freedom national—slavery sectional."

In 1856, he made an Anti-slavery speech on the "Crime against Kansas," in consequence of which he was attacked in the Senate Chamber, May 22, and severely beaten by Preston S. Brooks, of South Carolina, and so severely injured that his labors were suspended for three years, during which he visited Europe for repose and health. On his return home, he was appointed Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Relations, and about the end of 1862, was again elected a Senator for six years, ending March 4, 1869, and re-elected in 1869, for the succeeding six years. At the close of the Civil War, he advocated the reconstruction of the seceded States, on the basis of impartial suffrage. During the war he was a confidential ad-

viser of Mr. Lincoln, urged upon him the Proclamation of Emancipation, was the author of the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, continued to advocate the cause of Republican liberty, in opposition to President Johnson and his Cabinet, and witnessed the triumph of the principles for which he so long and strenuously contended. He died March 11, 1874.

Horace Greeley, an American journalist, distinguished as an opponent to slavery, born at Amherst, New Hampshire, in February, 1811, was the son of a poor farmer, who removed to Vermont in 1821. He learned the art of printing in Vermont, where he worked about four years, and became, at an early age, well versed in party politics. He adopted the Universalist creed before he was of age, and supported the pro-slavery movement. After he had worked a few months in a printing office in Erie, Pennsylvania, he sought employment in the City of New York, in August, 1831, having only ten dollars in his pocket. As he had no friends or acquaintances in New York, and his dress was very odd and shabby, he met with many repulses, but at last obtained work.

He was employed as a journeyman printer for fourteen months, and in January, 1833, became a partner of Francis Story, and began to print the Morning Post, the first daily penny paper ever published. It was discontinued in a few weeks. The firm of Greeley & Co. founded, in March, 1834, The New Yorker, a weekly literary journal (neutral in politics), of which Mr. Greeley wrote the editorial articles.

The New Yorker was issued for seven years, and became an influential paper, but was not profitable to the publishers. He married Miss Cheney, of North Carolina, in 1836. From March, 1836, to March, 1839, he edited The Jeffersonian, a weekly Whig paper, published under the direction of the Whig Central Committee of the State of New York. About May, 1840, he began to publish The Log Cabin, a weekly paper, which supported General Harrison for President, and it obtained a large circulation, over 80,000. "The Log Cabin," says Parton, "gave him an immense reputation in all parts of the country, as an able writer and a zealous politician."

In April, 1841, he founded the Daily Tribune, price one cent, of which Henry J. Raymond (afterwards editor of the New York Times), was assistant editor. Since that date, the size and the price of the Tribune, continually increased. Mr. Greeley advocated the election of Henry Clay to the Presidency, in 1844, and after his defeat, assumed an attitude of more decided hostility to slavery. In 1848, he was elected member of Congress, to fill a vacancy for a term which expired in March, 1849. He published, in 1850, "Hints Toward Reforms," composed partly of lectures, which he had delivered at various places, on temperance, popular education, the organization of labor, etc. "His subject," says Parton, "is ever the same; the object of his public life is single. It is the 'EMANCIPATION OF LABOR;' its emancipation from ignorance, vice, servitude, poverty."

Having visited Europe in 1851, he published "Glances at Europe." He supported in successive Presidential elections, General Scott in 1852, J. C. Fremont in 1856, and Abraham Lincoln in 1860, having exerted his influence against the nomination of W. H. Seward at the Chicago Convention of that year. In 1864, he published the first volume of "The American Conflict," and later, the second volume. He favored the plan of universal amnesty and universal suffrage, at the end of the Civil War, and offered himself as bail for Jefferson Davis, in May, 1867, for which he was censured by many of his own party. In 1872, he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency, and died the same year.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, an American reformer, distinguished for his uncompromising hostility to the institution of slavery and to oppression in every form, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, November 29, 1811. He graduated at Harvard in 1831, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1834. His sympathies were strongly aroused by the persecution of the early Abolitionists, more particularly during the Boston mob, headed by "gentlemen of property and standing," in October, 1835, when Garrison narrowly escaped with his life. In 1836, he joined the Abolitionists, relinquishing the practice of law

because he was unwilling to act under an oath to the Constitution of the United States. In 1837 a meeting of the citizens of Massachusetts was called in Faneuil Hall for the purpose of expressing public condemnation of the murder of Lovejoy, who fell (November 7) at Alton, Illinois, in defense of the freedom of the press. The pro-slavery feeling in Boston was at that time very strong, and the object of the meeting was in imminent danger of being defeated through the influence of Attorney-General Austin, who asked how Mr. Lovejoy had merited the distinction of being thus commemorated, and whether he had not died "as the fool dieth." At the conclusion of his speech, Wendell Phillips arose, and in a burst of indignant and powerful eloquence, rebuked the craven and sordid spirit of those who sought to defend or excuse that great crime against the liberty of the press and the rights of humanity.

Dr. Channing, who had been chiefly instrumental in calling the meeting on that occasion, often referred to the speech of young Phillips before that vast assembly, many of whom were bitterly hostile to freedom, as "unusually sublime." Believing that the Constitution of the United States was an unrighteous compact between freedom and slavery, Mr. Phillips refused its authority by voting or in any other manner, and maintained that a dissolution of the Union would be the most effectual mode of giving freedom to the Colored Race. In 1865 he succeeded Mr. Garrison as President of the American Anti-slavery Society, which position he held until the dissolution of the Society, April 9, 1870. Mr. Phillips was an accomplished scholar, and one of the most eloquent orators in the United States. In addition to his labors in the Anti-slavery cause, he has devoted no inconsiderable portion of his time and attention to the temperance movement and other reforms. His principal speeches and lectures have been published in an octavo volume.

Lucretia Mott, an American reformer and philanthropist, born on the island of Nantucket, in 1793. About 1808, her parents, who were members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, removed to Philadelphia. In 1811 she was married

to James Mott, of New York, who soon afterwards came to Philadelphia, and entered into mercantile business with her father. While still very young, her attention had been called to the iniquity of slavery, and she felt it her duty to abstain from the products of slave labor. She traveled extensively as a minister, preaching the peculiar doctrines of the society in which she had been educated, inculcating obedience to the Divine light within the heart, and exposing the sinfulness of slavery and war. At the time of the separation in the Society of Friends, in 1827, she joined those popularly known as "Hickites," and distinguished herself by the advocacy of Unitarian views of the most radical kind.

She took an active part in the organization of the Anti-slavery Society in Philadelphia, and in 1840 went as a delegate to the World's Anti-slavery Convention, held in London, but though otherwise treated with the greatest respect and courtesy, she was not admitted as a delegate, a majority of the Convention having decided that women should be excluded from any active participation in the business of the assembly.

Mrs. Mott has long been known as an earnest and eloquent advocate of Anti-slavery principles, of the rights of women, and of other reformatory movements. As a speaker she was characterized by an unaffected simplicity and earnestness of manner, as well as by clearness and propriety of expression. Her high moral qualities, her uncommon intelligence, the beauty and consistency of her general character—illustrated in her domestic as well as in her public life,—are such as to command the respect of those who in opinion differed most widely from her in regard to religious and social questions. She died at her home near Philadelphia, November 11, 1880, aged 87 years.

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE—Foremost among the women of our land, noted for their untiring devotion to the principle of human rights, should stand the name of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. Indeed, few men excelled her in the great work she endeavored to accomplish; the overthrow of slavery and the amelioration of the Colored Race. Her accomplished

mind and eloquent pen spake with no uncertain sound as they heralded to a world the evils of slavery. The miseries and the horrors of the system revealed in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," went like a whirlwind through the North and aroused the public mind and helped create the sentiment that said: "This thing must not be." Honor to her. The memory of this noble woman's life and deeds will always be held dear by the people in whose behalf she labored so faithfully; and history will record for her a name as one who helped to establish in America equal rights for all men.

THADDEUS STEVENS, an eminent American Legislator, distinguished as an opponent to slavery, was born in Caledonia county, Vermont, on the 4th of April, 1793. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1814, removed to Pennsylvania, and studied law. He was elected to the Legislature of Pennsylvania in 1833, and re-elected four times between that date and 1841. In April, 1835, he made a powerful speech for common schools, and secured the triumph of a system to which the majority of the Legislature had been hostile. In 1836, he was a member of the Convention which revised the Constitution of the State. He settled at Lancaster about 1842, and was elected a member of Congress by the voters of the Ninth District in 1848.

He acted with the Whig party while that party survived, and was re-elected to Congress in 1850. About 1855, he joined the Republican party, which was at first called in Pennsylvania the People's party. He represented the Ninth District, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in Congress from 1858 to 1868. He was chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in the Thirty-seventh Congress, 1861-63, and in several subsequent terms. In December, 1861, he offered a resolution that all slaves who shall leave their Masters or aid in suppressing the Rebellion, shall be declared free.

After the end of the Civil War, he became the most prominent and influential member of the House of Representatives, and a strenuous opponent of President Johnson's policy. He advocated the extension of the right of suffrage to the freed-

men, and other measures of the Republican party. Mr. Stevens and Senator Sherman were the authors of the bill for the reconstruction of the seceded States which was passed by Congress in the session of 1866-67, and became a law notwithstanding the veto of the President. By this act, ten of the Southern States were divided into five military districts, and each district was subjected to the authority of a military commander until the people of these districts should adopt a new Constitution conceding impartial suffrage. Mr. Stevens, who was chairman of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, reported in February, 1867, the original bill, which Senator Sherman modified by an important amendment. He advocated the impeachment of Andrew Johnson in a speech on the 24th of February, 1868, and was a member of the committee of seven, then appointed, to prepare and report articles of impeachment. He was also one of the seven members elected March 2, 1868, as managers to conduct the impeachment of President Johnson. He was never married. Died at Washington August, 1868. He was one of the few who were not afraid to grasp first principles and lay hold of great truths, or to push them to their remotest logical result.

CHAPTER XXVI.

RECONSTRUCTION OF SOUTHERN STATES.

"One shining way for all to take,
One oath, one hope, one purpose grand,
One flag for all in all the land,
Upheld by all for Fredom's sake."

AFTER the fall of the Southern Confederacy a grave proposition confronted the Country. Hostilities between the North and South were at an end and the all important question arising was then, the rebuilding of the governments of the Southern States. For four years these States had been in active resistance to the National Government and the laws of the United States had been set at naught and entirely disregarded. During this period many new laws had been enacted by Congress, proclamations issued by the Executive department, and several amendments to the Constitution adopted, all of which had been entirely disregarded by the eleven seceding States. Hence upon the admission of these States participating in the National affairs it became important that they should accede to these laws and the several amendments to the Constitution and be guided and governed by them.

The means to be adopted to accomplish these ends, was termed reconstruction. Many methods were proposed. After the surrender of the forts on the lower Mississippi in 1862, President Lincoln took the first steps in the direction of reconstruction. Benjamin F. Flanders, and Michael Hahn, residents of Louisiana, were elected as representatives in Congress and were admitted to their seats in that body on February 9, 1863, but no definite plan of reconstruction was then adopted. Mr. Lincoln's object was to restore harmony between the National government and the loyal people in the seceded States. But nothing further in that direction was done until after the defeat of General Lee at Gettysburg in 1863.

In December of that year President Lincoln sent a definite plan to Congress and declared by proclamation a full pardon to all persons who had taken part in the secession movement and were willing to take oath to henceforth faithfully support and defend the Constitution and the Union of the States thereunder and to abide by all laws and proclamations made during the existing rebellion, having reference to slaves so long and so far as not modified and declared void by decision of the Supreme Court. Excepting however civil and diplomatic officers of the Confederate Government, those persons who left Judicial stations in the United States Government to aid in the Rebellion, military officers of the Confederacy above the rank of Colonel, and naval officers above the rank of Lieutenant, all who left seats in Congress to aid in the Rebellion, all who left the national Army or Navy to aid therein and all who had treated colored persons found in the military or naval service of the United States, otherwise than as prisoners of war.

In the plan proposed to Congress the President was willing to trust the authority of establishing a State Government to those persons who would submit to the oath, provided they were sufficient in number to cast a vote one tenth as large as the vote cast by the State at the Presidential Election in the year 1860, and any Government so established the President declared, should be recognized as the true government of the State, and the State should receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that the United States shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government. In pursuance of this plan on the 8th January 1864, a large Free-State Convention assembled in New Orleans, and in accordance to the plan of the Administration General Banks who was in command of the military district, issued a proclamation, at the request of the Convention, calling for an election of State officers to take place on February 22, and the officers chosen, to be installed on the first of March next. At this election Michael Hahn was chosen as Governor of Louisiana and was duly installed on the 4th March ensuing.

Early in April a Convention was called for the purpose of

forming a Constitution for the State. The first important step taken by this Convention was to adopt a clause by a vote of seventy-six to sixteen, amending the Constitution, declaring slavery forever abolished in the State. The Constitution as thus amended was submitted to the people of the State on the 5th day of September following, and it was ratified by a popular vote of 6,836 for, to 1,566 against. This being a trifle over ten per cent. of the vote of 1860 for President, the new State Government was complete.

Similar proceedings were adopted in Arkansas. Isaac Murphy was elected Governor in the spring of 1864, and Messrs. Fishback and Baxter were chosen to represent the State in Congress, but on the presentation of their credentials Congress was unwilling to admit them, and it was found that Congress was not in harmony with Mr. Lincoln's policy of reconstruction, and, indeed, a conflict between the President and Congress on the subject seemed imminent. And, on June 27, 1864, the Senate, by a vote of twenty-seven to six, declared that the rebellion was not so far suppressed in Arkansas as to entitle that State to representation in Congress, and Fishback and Baxter were not admitted as Senators. Similar resolutions were adopted by the House as to the Representatives from that State.

Following this, July 4, 1864, a bill was passed through Congress in which it was declared that the President should appoint a Provisional Governor for each of the States in Rebellion; that such Governor should as soon as military resistance to the United States ceased, make an enrollment of the white male citizens, submitting to each an oath to support the Constitution, and if a majority of the citizens should take such oath, the Governor was to order an election of delegates to a Constitutional Convention. The first duty of the Convention was to declare on behalf of the people their submission to the Constitution of the United States, and to incorporate into their Constitutions these provisions:

That no one who had held any office under the Confederate Government, except civil officers, merely ministerial or military

officers below the rank of Colonel, should vote for, or be a member of the Legislature or Governor. That involuntary servitude should be forever prohibited and the freedom of all persons in the State guaranteed. That no State or Confederate debt, created in aid of the rebellion, should ever be paid. In the event a Constitution should be so adopted by a majority of the popular vote, as ascertained by the enrollment, the Governor should certify the fact to the President, who should, with the assent of Congress, recognize the State Government thus reconstructed as legitimate and Constitutional, having authority to elect Senators and Representatives to Congress, and of choosing electors of President and Vice-President.

But this bill did not receive the sanction of Mr. Lincoln. The President, while recognizing it as the expression of Congress on the question of reconstruction, felt willing to accord it due deference, but was not prepared to adopt it as the only method of reconstruction. The President was careful not to commit himself to any definite plan for the rehabiliment of the Southern States. He navigated the stream cautiously from point to point as he could discern, always keeping in view certain land marks. Dissatisfaction on the part of Congress became manifest. The States thus reconstructed were satirically termed the President's "ten per cent. States," and joint resolutions were passed, declaring that certain States were not entitled to representation in the Electoral college.

In signing these resolutions the President said he signed them in deference to the view of Congress implied in their passage. But in his own view Congress had ample power under Article 12 of the Constitution, to exclude all electors deemed by them illegal, and he disclaimed all right on the part of the Executive in any manner to interfere in counting the Electoral vote. But all the plans of Mr. Lincoln on reconstruction were crude. He had no opportunity to test them, nor had the proper occasion yet arrived. His main object was the benevolent one of again binding the hearts of the people in love and loyalty for the Union, and to this end his powers would be exerted, pursuing always the best and safest course. Three days before his tragic

death he said, "It may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act when satisfied that action will be proper." But just what he was considering and what announcement would have been made, it is not for the historian to chronicle. In an unfortunate moment as appears to mortal view this great and good man passed from the stage of action, and assassination gloated over a crime that paralyzed Christendom. When President Johnson entered upon the duties of office, to which he was so suddenly summoned, he was met at the very threshold with the problem of reconstruction. While Vice President of the United States, Mr. Johnson was acting as Military Governor of Tennessee, and had recommended the assembly of a Convention in accordance with the plan proposed by Mr. Lincoln. Such a Convention assembled at Nashville, on February 9, 1865. Membership of the body was limited to persons who gave an active support to the Union cause, and who never voluntarily gave aid and comfort to the enemy. The Convention proposed an amendment to the State Constitution forever abolishing and prohibiting slavery in the State, and took steps annulling all legislation which the State had enacted while under Confederate rule, thus destroying the ordinance of secession and the State debt created in aid of the war against the Union.

The proceedings of the Convention were submitted to a popular vote on the 22d February, 1865, and were ratified by a vote of 25,293 for, to 48 against, and as the total vote of the State for President in 1860, was 145,333, therefore the Constitution was adopted by more than the required one-tenth. And on the 4th day of March following, William G. Brownlow was chosen Governor. The new Legislature met at Nashville, on April 3, and on the 5th ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, thus adding to their State Constitution the National prohibition of slavery, and completed their work by electing David T. Patterson and Joseph S. Fowler to the Senate of the United States.

This new government of Tennessee was reconstructed according to the plan of Mr. Lincoln, and was, thus far, in opera

tion before his death. But as the plan was opposed by Congress, the crucial point arose when the Senators and Representatives of this new State Government would apply for their seats in Congress.

Thus it will be seen that Mr. Johnson met the question of reconstruction under circumstances rendering it unpopular with Congress. Upon assuming the duties of Executive, he was, therefore, already committed to a policy in opposition to Congress. In his inaugural address, Mr. Johnson said: "I desire to proclaim that Tennessee, whose representative I have been, is free. She has bent the tyrant's rod, she has broken the yoke of slavery, she stands to-day redeemed, she waited not for the exercise of power by Congress; it was her own act, and she is now loyal."

The first important step taken by Mr. Johnson, as President, in the direction of reconstruction, was, therefore, the issuing of a Proclamation of Amnesty and Pardon to all persons who had, directly or indirectly, participated in the rebellion, upon condition that such persons should take and subscribe an oath, solemnly declaring, thereafter to faithfully support, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States thereunder, and also abide by, and faithfully support, all laws and proclamations which had been made during the Rebellion, with reference to the emancipation of slaves. This general proclamation, however, contained large exceptions, as to those persons engaged in the Secession movement. Mr. Johnson was seconded, to some extent, in his ideas of reconstruction, by Mr. Seward. But Congress was still averse to it, and another important question now arose: upon the emancipation of the colored people, the ratio of representation in the Southern States thereby became raised, and those States were entitled to a greater number of Representatives in Congress, while the voting population remained unchanged. The result here, would be to give to the States, lately in Rebellion, an undue advantage in Congress, an advantage to which they were not entitled, unless the right of suffrage should be extended to

the colored citizen. Thus the question of Negro suffrage became important.

But the work of reconstruction went on. On May 9, 1865, Mr. Johnson issued a proclamation, appointing William H. Holden provisional Governor of North Carolina, and requiring him, at the earliest practical period, to prescribe such means as were necessary and proper for assembling a Convention, composed of delegates who were loyal to the United States, for the purpose of altering or amending the Constitution, and no person was to be a delegate to this Convention who had not taken the required oath, and was not eligible as required by the terms of the proclamation, and preference was to be given to qualified loyal persons residing within the district where their respective duties were to be performed. The Secretary of the Treasury was to nominate certain officers, assessors and collectors of internal revenue and such other officers of the Treasury Department as were authorized by law. The Postmaster-General was to re-establish postoffices and Postmasters. The United States District Judges were directed to hold the Courts and the Attorney-General to enforce the administration of justice. June 13, a proclamation was issued for the reconstruction of the Civil Government of Mississippi, and William L. Starkey was appointed provisional Governor. On June 17, a proclamation was issued for the reconstruction of Georgia, and James Johnson was appointed provisional Governor. A like proclamation was issued for Texas, with Andrew J. Hamilton as provisional Governor. On June 21, Alabama followed with Lewis E. Parsons as provisional Governor, and on June 30, Benjamin F. Perry was appointed provisional Governor of South Carolina, and on July 13, William Marvin, provisional Governor of Florida.

All these States proceeded in the matter of reconstruction upon a plan similar to that followed by North Carolina. "The process was designed to be complete by fully restoring every connection existing under the Constitution between the States and the National Government."

After Virginia had seceded, and the State of West Virginia

had been established, Francis H. Pierpont was made Governor. He was the head of the loyal Government of Virginia, and was now recognized by President Johnson as Governor of Virginia. Louisiana, Arkansas and Tennessee, were organized on similar principles.

Thus far was reconstruction completed; but the inherent defects of the system soon became apparent. The colored population not having the right of suffrage, were practically disfranchised, while the representative power of the Southern States was increased. Mr. Johnson realized this, and wrote to several of his Governors suggesting that suffrage be extended to the colored people. But only as a stroke of policy however; he did not seem to realize that to the colored people the right of suffrage would become a necessary means whereby they could find protection in their newly acquired freedom, that to emancipate the colored people and then to withhold the power with which to protect themselves, would be the merest mockery.

The work of the Legislatures soon proved this; many laws unjust and oppressive to the colored people were passed.

The Thirteenth Amendment was ratified; the whip, the Overseer, and the blood hound had become useless commodities, and the ship of State, with Mr. Johnson at the helm, seemed now to be sailing through placid waters, but the breakers soon appeared. The glory of the old slave power had not wholly departed.

This soon became manifest from the work of the Legislatures of the Southern States. Penal laws designed to enthrall the colored people, were passed, equaling in enormity the worst penal statutes passed by the Legislature of Ireland during the reign of Queen Anne. The laws of vagrancy were so changed as to make the poverty of colored people criminal. Under those laws they were fined and imprisoned, and if unable to pay the fines imposed, were hired out for periods from six to twelve months to parties willing to pay the fines and costs.

The children of poor colored people were apprenticed to their former masters. Acts were passed excluding them from hotels, inns and restaurants, and for a colored person to enter

any religious or other public assembly of white persons, or any railroad car, or other vehicle set apart for the accommodation of white persons, was declared a misdemeanor, for which a fine was to be imposed, and the offending party was to stand in the pillory one hour, and then be whipped with thirty-nine lashes on the bare back.

Colored people were forbidden to follow any calling, but that of husbandry, without the payment of exorbitant licenses, and they were not permitted to assemble together to consult their welfare, under severe penalties, and were not allowed to appear in towns except in a menial capacity. Were required to reside on and cultivate the soil without being allowed to own it. Were not permitted to give testimony in cases where a white man was a party. They were excluded from performing particular kinds of business, profitable and reputable, and were denied the right of suffrage.

If servants and apprentices should leave their "Master" or "Mistress," no person could furnish them food or clothing, or render them assistance without incurring severe penalties. For a colored person to keep arms of any kind was made a heinous offense, with penalty usually of forfeiture of the property, one hour in the pillory, and thirty-nine lashes on the bare back. Unjust and unequal taxes were imposed, and extortionary poll and caption taxes exacted. The Legislatures of Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Georgia and Texas, vied with each other in this unjust legislation. But "whom the gods would destroy they first make mad." Such was the case with the Southern States. The Thirteenth Amendment, if honestly received and fairly applied, would have been enough to guard the rights of the Colored Race.

But it was unheeded, and this flagrant injustice only aroused the vigorous opposition of Congress to a more determined effort, and finally led to the passage of the several Reconstruction Acts, the Civil Rights Bill, and the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Then came the difficulty. Congress was not disposed to ratify these Governments and accord to their Representatives

recognition. Thus arose the division between Mr. Johnson and his party, which resulted in his impeachment and almost his deposition from office. But that case having resulted in his favor, Mr. Johnson vetoed most all the Acts passed by Congress in relation to reconstruction, while, on the other hand, Congress as resolutely passed them over his head. March 21, 1867, Congress passed the first Reconstruction Act, declaring that, as "no legal State Government or adequate protection for life or property now exists in the Rebel States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Texas and Arkansas, and whereas, it is necessary that justice and good order shall be enforced in said States until loyal and Republican State Governments can be legally established.

"It was therefore ordered that those States should be divided into Military Districts and made subject to the military authority of the United States. For that purpose Virginia was made the First District; North Carolina and South Carolina, the Second; Georgia, Alabama and Florida, the Third; Mississippi and Arkansas, the Fourth; and Louisiana and Texas, the Fifth. The President was to appoint the necessary officers who were to protect all persons in their rights, and these officers were given authority to try all offenders and pass sentence, but no sentence of death could be imposed without sanction of the President.

The Act further declared "that when the people of any one of said States shall have formed a Constitution of Government in conformity with the Constitution of the United States, in all respects, framed by a Convention of delegates elected by the male citizens of said State, of twenty-one years old and upward, of whatever race, color, or previous condition, who have been residents in said State one year previous to the day of election, except such as may be disfranchised for participation in the Rebellion, or for felony at common law, and when such Constitution shall provide that the elective franchise shall be enjoyed by all such persons as have the qualifications herein

stated for electors of delegates, and when such Constitution shall be ratified by a majority of the persons voting on the question of ratification, who are qualified as electors for delegates, and when such Constitution shall have been submitted to Congress for examination and approval, and Congress shall have approved the same, and when said State by a vote of its Legislature, elected under said Constitution, shall have adopted the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed by the Thirty-ninth Congress, and known as Article Fourteen, and when said Article shall become a part of the Constitution of the United States, and said State shall be declared entitled to representation in Congress, and Senators and Representatives shall be admitted therefrom, on their taking the oaths prescribed by law, then and thereafter" would the Governments of those States be recognized as legitimate.

This act was followed, March 23, by a supplementary act prescribing an oath as a qualification as to official eligibility, and the right of suffrage, providing for an election and for a Constitutional Convention; the method to be pursued in canvassing the vote, the duties of the several officers, and the course to be pursued in relation to the actions of Conventions, if such were formed. This was again followed by a further supplementary act, declaring that the governments existing in those States were not legal State Governments, and if the same were continued, they were to be subject to the Military Commanders of their respective districts, and the paramount authority of Congress.

The Act, also, made the appointments of the Military Commanders subject to the approval of the General of the Army, vesting him with powers of suspension, removal or appointment of any person, and declared that no person, on account of race or color, should be disfranchised from being a member of the Legislature. Thus was reconstruction legislation completed. The eleven Southern States gradually fell into line, in accordance therewith, and reconstruction became complete, with equal suffrage as its fundamental principle.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

"Behold! I show you a beautiful land."

THE Republic of Liberia is situated to the South of Sierra Leone, on that part of the West coast of Africa called the *seed coast.* Its territory consists of a series of settlements, some commercial, others agricultural, stretched along the sea coast for a distance of 960 kilometres, and extending back an unlimited distance into the interior. Its Capital is Monrovia, situated on the bay of Cape Masurado, and the river of the same name. It was, when first founded, 1821–'2, merely a Colony of free Negroes, which the American Colonization Society (founded December 31, 1816), established to procure for these victims of color prejudice, a better lot than in America.

No little difficulty was encountered in forming the Colony, as we may notice in viewing the life of Jehudi Ashmun, employed to plant a settlement of free Negroes in the land of their Fathers. In 1822, he was appointed to take charge of a reenforcement for their infant settlement in Africa. Within three months after his arrival, when the whole force of the Colonists consisted of only thirty-five men and boys, he was attacked by armed savages. They were repulsed, but in December they returned with greatly increased numbers, and utter extermination of the little Colony seemed certain. Again the savages were repulsed, and thoroughly defeated. For six years, Mr. Ashmun labored faithfully there, with Lott Cary, in laying the foundation of the Republic of Liberia, but labor and the malaria of the lowlands, made great inroads upon his health, month after month, until he was compelled to return to America to recruit. His departure was a great grief to the Colonists, who now numbered 1,200 souls. He felt that the

hand of decay was upon him, and he expressed his belief that he should never return. Like the friends of Paul, they kissed him, sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more. They accompanied him to the ship, and parted at the shore with tears.

By additions from within and without, the free and Americanized population of Liberia amounted, in 1872, to 19,000 souls, who exercised a political influence over 700,000 Negroes (natives but not savages), scattered over the territory that extends from the sea to the chain of mountains which separates the Liberian territory from the basin of the River Niger, in the interior. The primitive Colony, governed at first by white men, became, August 24, 1847, an Independent Republic, governed by a Black Head, and was admitted into the family of civilized Nations. It has been recognized by England, France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia, the Hanseatic Cities, Italy, Denmark, Portugal, and, finally (in 1861), by the Cabinet in Washington. Its relations with foreign Nations have been regulated by a dozen friendly treaties.

The Constitution provides for a President, a Vice President, a House of Representatives (thirteen in number) elected for for two years, and a Senate (of eight members) elected for four years. The President may be re-elected. The first President, Roberts, after having administered the Government for the Colonization Society during six years, was elected when the Republic was proclaimed and three times re-elected (1848-56); his successor, Stephen Allen Benson, was re-elected four times, (1856-64); the third President was D. B. Warner (1864-8); the fourth J. S. Payne (1868-71); the fifth, who again assumed the office in 1872, was J. J. Roberts. Anthony W. Gardner is the present President.

This dignity, like other governmental offices, can be conferred only on a Negro. Various ministers form its executive agents. Suffrage is universal.

The Judicial power is vested in a Superior Court, and two Tribunals established, as occasion requires, by the Legislature.

In Administrative matters the Republic is divided into four Counties: Monferrado, Grand-Basso, Sinoe and Maryland, which are subdivided into districts. The Civil affairs of the Counties are managed by four Superintendents, chosen by the President, with the advice of the Senate; those of the districts by Municipal Magistrates elected by the citizens.

The Revenues of the Republic amount to about $120,000, of which more than $70,000 are derived from customs duties, and about $50,000 from the various other taxes. The expenses are a little less than this sum. The public debt, contracted for the erection of establishments of general utility, amounts to upward of $600,000, $500,000 of which was borrowed in London in 1871. Since 1874 no interest has been paid on this debt.

Education is furnished in the district schools and churches. English is the official language. Monrovia has a college and library. The wealthier families send their children to Europe to complete their education. Protestantism is the dominant religion.

Labor is obligatory; each inhabitant is obliged to cultivate a piece of land.

The Liberian Colony has developed, in spite of the frequent aggressions of hostile Negroes from the adjacent country; the Liberians are faithful to the laws which they have adopted, honest in their dealings, religious and moral.

The Liberians have not, however, escaped all criticism; they have been reproached with reducing to slavery the nations who resist their power, and through the complicity of their citizens, selling them to the slave traders; but severe regulations imposed by the Legislature in the session of 1857-8 upon this traffic and upon immigration, exonerate the Republic from all participation in acts, which, if they have any real existence, are but the crimes of individuals.

Besides, lawful commerce affords ample opportunity to the activity of the Liberians; it is carried on in Monrovia and in the factories along the coast, subject to moderate import and export duties. The exports aggregate nearly $600,000, composed principally of palm oil, logwood and ivory; but the variety of

local products promises a more extended traffic in the future. Rice, coffee, sugar, pepper, indigo, peanuts, arrowroot, maize, etc., grow on its fertile soil. The cultivation of cotton is encouraged by the Cotton Spinners' Association of Manchester. Iron is common, and gold is not rare; there are also indications of coal.

By these varied sources of wealth which it is developing from day to day, and still more by the establishment of order with perfect liberty, the little Republic of Liberia is a very interesting example of what Negro communities may become. Fortunately exempt from the violent traditions which still weigh heavily upon Hayti, owing its foundation to the disinterested devotion of whites, composed of freedmen who were ordinarily the best of the slaves, admitted into fraternal relations of friendship with civilized nations, it will serve as a test of what the Colored Race can attain to, when left to self-government. Its progress thus far warrants the hope that it will continue worthy to rank by the side of the Senegambian Colonies which France and England possess and administer in the same region of Western Africa.

William Coppinger, Consul General of Liberia and Secretary of the Colonization Society, referring to the report that there is discontent in Liberia, said:

"Some of the immigrants succeed and some fail just as it is with those who come to this country. It must be remembered that the immigrants are often not of the most energetic temperaments and they come from a race whose attachments to localities are very strong. Another boat load of colored people will be sent over in the Autumn, being the third this year. This will make the record a little larger than usual, for, as a rule, the Association only send two parties in a season. The vessel which the Society owns is a small one and its trips to Liberia and return occupy months. Besides this the work of raising money for transportation of Negroes is a slow one. The Association not only sends them over, but makes a certain allowance, supposed to cover the cost of living until they can begin to support themselves.

"Since it was organized the Society has given homes to about 20,000 people in the land of their fathers, and we are sending others as fast as we can raise the necessary funds. There is no lack of good material. I tell you we could send 1,000,000 to-day if we had the wherewithal to do it. The largest number come from the South, for the bulk of the colored population is in the South, but I am receiving a large number of appeals from the colored people of Kansas, many of whom went there during the exodus of some years ago. They did not improve their condition as much as they expected. At any rate they are very anxious to exchange Kansas for Africa. We are sending more or less of them, but cannot respond to anything like the number of appeals we get." When asked: "What seems to be the reason for the desire of the colored people in the North for leaving the country?" he said: "They feel that they are not a part of the dominant race, and that they are not properly recognized socially and politically by the whites, and never will be. The general public do not understand how strong this feeling is with the Negroes, and it will probably continue so. Many of them feel it very keenly. We hear it in a marked degree from those who went to Kansas a few years ago."

Mr. Coppinger added that the majority of the immigrants had houses of their own, enjoy personal and political equality, and by their intelligence contribute largely to the growth of of civilization among African tribes. Many savages have been absorbed into the Southwest. They send there children to schools and have adopted the methods of civilized life and the use of the English language, so that now an English speaking person may make himself understood at most anywhere on the west coast of Africa.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ADVANCEMENT OF THE COLORED RACE.

"And," he said, "Who hears can never
Fear for or doubt you;
What shall I tell the children
Up North about you?"
Then ran round a whisper, a murmur,
Some answer devising;
And a little boy stood up: "Massa,
Tell 'em —we're rising!"

O black boy of Atlanta!
But half was spoken:
The slave's chain and the Master's
Alike are broken,
The one curse of the races
Held both in tether:
They are rising,——all are rising,
The black and white together!"

BY far the most important and interesting period in the history of this people, is that which followed emancipation and witnessed their struggle for existence, their establishment as citizens of the United States, and their advancement in numbers, knowledge and power.

The long, dark night of oppression is past, and the morning which has dawned, is one of glorious promise. With the sun of Truth rising so steadily, dispersing mist and clouds, and revealing all things in his glorious effulgence, it does not take an eye of great faith to realize that the meridian will be reached. We know that nothing is more sure, than that the sun, once arisen, must take his undeviating course, on to the fullness of the noonday. All pure and honest hearts raise their glad hymn of praise at his approach; the fragrant blossoms of aspiration and lofty endeavor, spring up in his pathway, and all the earth and air teem with earnest, joyous life. Prowling superstition and darksome ignorance hide themselves at his coming, and the poisonous miasma of crime and degradation cannot lurk within reach of his warm rays. Thus is day advancing for the Colored Race!

In America, all is open to the rays of this sun of Truth, and under cultivation; but in many of the dark recesses of Africa, its rays have been unable to reach. There is need that the thick and noxious growth covering them should be torn away, that the light of liberty might shine in.

It is our purpose now, however, to consider what has been accomplished by the colored people, and what their possibilities for the future are within the limits of the United States. This is no inconsiderable subject. It has occupied the pens of the ablest writers of our times, and is still at work, with its ever varying forms, in their deepest consciousness. It has been called a "problem," which needs "working out"—especially in its relation to the white race, and every thoughtful man and woman will realize its magnitude, and should give it a wise and unprejudiced consideration.

History furnishes no example of emancipation under circumstances so unfavorable, as that of the colored people in the United States. Between four and five millions of people suddenly thrown upon the world, ignorant, poor, and without a foot of land to stand upon, and that too, not by the voluntary action of the people whose possessions they had been, and among whom they were to live (and who were thus rendered, more or less, bitter and unfriendly); but by those whose distant point of view gave them little conception of their natures and needs, and comparatively limited opportunities for aiding them. Nevertheless, these came nobly to the rescue, and numbers of earnest men and women devoted an incalculable amount of energy, time and money, to the work of aiding, uplifting, and educating those whose freedom they had been instrumental in securing.

And this was just. The people of the South, impoverished by the war, their lands over-run, their once beautiful homes now scenes of desolation, and obliged now to pay for the labor they could formerly compel, while more pecuniarily unable to do so, were naturally in no mood or condition just then, to regard in a very high light the duty they owed their new made neighbor. Their own necessities were pressing too heavily upon them. Doubtless they felt their own condition the more

deplorable of the two, for their ex-slaves were at least inured to the life of toil and hardship before them, while their own muscles were untrained to work, and their wills unused to discipline.

Just here, that occurred, which in its effect of retarding the advancement of the colored people, and of embittering the minds of their former owners, was far reaching, and very disastrous to the early establishment of peace and prosperity. We refer to the insidious teachings of certain Northern enthusiasts, in the first flush of victory, or it may have been confined simply to artful politicians intent upon securing the colored vote, who led the then poor and unlettered freedmen to dream wonderful fairy tales of what the Government would do for them. The promise of "forty acres and a mule" to each one has become a by-word upon the lips of the Nation, but to them it was a reality. As has been said, they looked for its fulfilment "with the wonder and simplicity of a child, watching for Santa Claus to drop down the chimney on Christmas night. Hundreds of ignorant white people expected that they, under some form of law, if not by compulsion without form, would be called upon to furnish both the mule and the land." They were also to have given them "provisions enough for one year," with perhaps a train of innumerable other blessings, which if not actually promised, their own imaginations, known to be extremely fertile, could easily supply.

Even greater evils were intilled into their minds by some, assuredly of an inferior class,—the "wolves in sheep's clothing," who had stolen into the flock of true and good workers—who told them that the property of their former owners rightfully belonged to them (the colored people), in payment of the debt due them for over a hundred years servitude, and whatever they could take from them they were justified in taking. Lands, houses, stock, furniture, and even the wives and daughters of the white race they might rightfully appropriate, and many actually made their selections, and patiently awaited the signal for seizure.

Such a state of fermentation, and such expectations, as long

as indulged in, were a death-blow to any persistent and well-organized system of work. If they were to be so bountifully provided for, there was no need of work, except just enough to tide them over the time before these miracles in their behalf should take place. But when they realized the imposition which had been practiced upon them, and the dashing of all their hopes, although calculated to make them lose faith in their would-be friends, their freedom from malice or revenge manifested itself, and they accepted the situation with the good nature which had characterized them in all their most bitter experiences, and, as one has expressed it, "dropped their political teachers,

> 'Hung up the fiddle and the bow,
> And took up the shovel and the hoe,'

And have won for themselves the respect of all just men."

Rev. A. G. Haygood, of Georgia, whose life-long experience among the colored people, and whose continued labors in their behalf, gives his words double significance, thus writes:

"They have learned, or they are fast learning, that they, as well as white men, are still under the blessed ban of labor; 'blessed,' although they know it not. They no longer look to the Government for 'rations.' The dream of forty acres and a mule has faded from their imagination.

"These people must work, ought to work, for their living. There is no help for it, there ought to be no help for it. This necessity is not based on their poverty only, and not at all on the color of their skin. But on their physical, mental, moral, and social constitution as human beings. It is the primal law for all men, of every color and condition. An unworking race cannot be truly educated, for labor is itself a part of education. If some power could feed and clothe and shelter them, by the distribution of all things needful for their bodies, could dismiss them from their toils and send the whole race to school for a term of years, the problem of their right education would not be solved, although every one mastered a liberal course of studies. Such schooling would create new and harder prob-

lems; under such conditions their moral and social education could not keep pace with their mental development, and thus a new and deadly virus would be introduced into their very blood. One obvious result would be such education would multiply vagabonds and sharpers by the million. For true education means far more than 'book learning;' there must be education of the instincts, the feelings, the habits, the will, the conscience.

"A man rises, not by the color of his skin, but by intelligence, industry and integrity. The foremost man in these excellences and virtues must, in the long run, be also the highest man. And it ought to be so. Ignorance, indolence, immorality, have no right to rise. Let the white man rise as high as he can, providing, always, that he does not rise by wrongs done to another. In such rising, there is no real elevation. And let every man rise to his full stature, the white, the black, the red, and the yellow. No honest man, with brains in his head, doubts, for one moment, that it is God's will that every man He ever made of every race, should make the most of the talents his Creator gave him. Therefore, are talents given, that every man may be just as much of a man as he can be. The King at His coming will demand His own, with usury. There is no more sacred right than a man's right to be all that God gives him ability to be in all good things. The divine Magna Charta guarantees this right. There is no higher duty than that each human being do his utmost to realize the fullest possibilities of his life. Whatever hinders, does infinite damage to all concerned."

Dr. Haygood proceeds to say that growth is from within, and that all help from without cannot, in itself, give the freedman his right manhood and citizenship. That he must attain it by growth, just as the white race have attained to their higher estate. The latter began low and have taken a long time, and are not half grown yet. Then he adds: "Doing things for, and giving things to, people does not lift them up, if the doing and the giving do not spring a new hope, a new aspiration, a new purpose in them, or in some way, vivify into

fruitful life some dormant good already in their souls. The test of our usefulness to others is to be found in their character. Do we make them wiser, stronger, braver, truer? Then we have lifted them up by helping them to grow out of their weakness and evil into their strength and goodness. Why is it better to give a poor man a day's work, than a day's rations without the work? The one gift lifts him up, the other pauperizes him.

And then the freedman, while disappointed in receiving the gifts he was led to expect, and which received, would, perhaps, have only had the effect to "pauperize" him, did receive, in no small measure, the help which "lifts up" and places a man on a solid foundation, from whence he can make his own way, and win for himself recognition in the world. There is no crumbling of footholds, no falling back, in a position thus gained, for every inch has been strongly contested and hardly won, and such ground is not readily relinquished.

With the colored people it has, in the very nature of things, been a hard struggle. Accustomed, in slave time, to depend upon their owners for everything, not only for food, clothing and shelter, but even for the control of themselves and their children, they had been taught none of those elements of success,—self reliance, a faculty for managing, a realization of the value of money, and an intelligent use of it, which, ordinarily, would seem indispensable. This has been an immense obstacle in their way. While industrious and indefatigable in their work, they have not, as a rule, saved their earnings or used them with strict economy, in providing themselves with homes, thus securing their independence. For neither white man or colored is truly free and independent, while he relies upon each day's labor for that day's food and shelter. When possessed of a home, even in a city, by using his available ground as a garden, he is thus at once provided with both food and shelter.

If, living in the country, and owning only a few acres, he manages them with thrift and intelligence, he has not only "a living" for himself and family, but produce for sale.

A great drawback to advancement among the colored people is the "lease" or "land rental" system and the credit system in vogue all over the South. A considerable number of them rent land or rather work it on shares. The general plan is that the landlord furnishes the land, teams and implements, for which he is paid one half the crop. In Alabama three bales of cotton and one hundred bushels of corn is the average product to a "hand". His share amounts to one hundred dollars, at the average price—not enough to maintain his family decently. Of course some do better. Where the land is more productive the rent is higher. In East Carroll Parish, Louisiana, where this is the case, I was told the rent amounted to about eight dollars per acre for land worth from fifteen to twenty dollars an acre. A colored man with his wife and two children and the use of a horse cultivated twenty acres of land. He was a careful man and at the end of the year his share amounted to two hundred dollars. But it was all swallowed up in store bills. He did not complain of the planter but of the "shark" store-keepers. Without capital these colored men have to get credit from the stores until the crops are harvested, and they give a lien on their share of the crop as security. The most outrageous prices are charged. In this particular Parish, pork, for instance, was charged at twenty dollars a barrel, though selling in New Orleans at less than half that price. This is practiced all through the South. The ignorant colored man is often charged for what he does not get, and the prices are from one hundred to three hundred per cent more than would be charged a white man for cash. But both planter and laborer are more or less swindled in this store credit system, so that, as a rule, neither is prospering. Of course the landlord has the advantage. He generally takes charge of the sale of the cotton, and divides with the tenant after it is sold. If so disposed he can easily take an unfair advantage in disposing of the crop. He is protected by law. In North Carolina, for instance, the tenant can not sell a thing he has raised until the rent is paid. If he raises anything for himself outside of that to be shared with the landlord, he can-

not sell it without the consent of the owner of the land. This places him at the mercy of the landlord.

We hope to see these evils remedied soon, so that the colored people may advance more rapidly and if they understand the evils of the rental system, and dishonest store charges, there is sufficient enlightenment among them to associate together and thus obviate the disastrous results this credit system has brought about. The colored people must depend upon themselves to eradicate this evil.

It is an encouraging sign that so large a proportion of the race have since their freedom settled in the rural districts. It has been estimated that of the six and a half millions of colored people, who according to the United States census of 1880, were in the South, not more than one million lived in the cities. This is encouraging for the reason given by one of the illustrious men of their race, that "the men who are the tillers of soil will under any fair condition of things, eventually become the proprietors of the soil." And this is being verified, for in the South the colored people are largely tillers of the soil, and as a consequence, an ever increasing number are becoming proprietors of small farms. This is better for the white as well as the colored people, than the prevalent rental system, better for the proper development of the land. The man who rents for one year has the strongest inducement to use every means of making the present yield as large as possible, irrespective of the future good of the land. The long lease plan is better—both for his own good, and also for the improvement of the land. Owning the land is preferable to either. There is no danger, under this regime that the white farmer or planter may not succeed in obtaining labor, for it is reasonable to suppose that a large number of colored people, as is the case also with the white people, will remain landless, sufficiently to furnish cheap labor. And the land thus divided up and farmed by those whose advantage it is that it shall improve, will yield the poet's pleasing ideal of "the little farm well tilled."

There seems to be something in the free and healthful life on the farm, that has a tendency to make *men*—men of broad

views and deep intellects, men capable of thinking for themselves, men of such stuff as our Statesmen and Presidents are made of.

Nature must teach them something of her mystic lore; the independence of their position frees them from any necessity of a cringing or servile attitude toward any other man; their free life perhaps, gives them a better idea of what constitutes liberty, and the best methods of promoting it; and they drink deep of the pure fountain of health, which adds strength and tone to their every other characteristic.

This is true of other ages and Nations than ours:

> "In olden times, the sacred plow employ'd
> The Kings, and ancient fathers of mankind:
> And some, with whom compared, your insect tribes
> Are but the beings of a summer's day,
> Have held the scale of empire, ruled the storm
> Of mighty war, then, with unwearied hand,
> Disdaining little delicacies, seized
> The plow, and greatly independent lived."

Our own honored Washington is said to have been "ever more enamoured of the sickle than the sword, and unhesitatingly pronounced agriculture the most healthy, the most useful, and the most noble employment of man."

On the other hand, if the colored people are to become good and worthy citizens, competent to vote for the best interests of the community in which they live, they must also be tax-paying citizens. Representation without taxation is scarcely less dangerous, than "taxation without representation" is unjust. The colored man is rapidly reaching that point where intimidation, bribery, or the buying of his vote, is an impossibility. He begins to feel the thrill of life and power in his veins, to realize his responsibility as a citizen of the United States, and to aspire to that independent intelligent use of his privileges, which characterizes the free man, and he will immediately stamp as his enemy the man who dares attempt by intrigue or violence to obtain his vote. However, self-interest is the surest safeguard, and he who has an acre or more of his own, will have the strongest incentive to vote for the good of the community at large.

There is nothing that gives a man a more thorough respect for himself, and also for the rights of others, than to feel, that the land he stands upon is his own; that he represents something of value, no matter how little that be; that to this one domain, at least, he has an inestimable and indisputable right, and that here he may dwell, "under his own vine and fig-tree," monarch not only of that, best of all realms, home, but also of the homestead.

A good farm, if properly managed, will soon pay for itself, and if bought on slow payments, it will be found almost as easy, and certainly more gratifying to make these payments, than to pay the usual "third" of the crops for rent.

"Owning the land tends to foster the virtues that make a people happy, strong and prosperous. It economizes industry and promotes economy. It furnishes the right soil for all those affections and sentiments that are the life and soul of home. The one-year tenant has the poorest chance to make a home; the long-lease tenant is in far better case; the land-owner, though of only a very small parcel of ground, is in the best case of all. The best homes grow out of ownership of the soil.

"It is of very great importance to make possible such industrial and social development among the colored people that they may become strong enough to provide for the helpless of their own race. I could mention a number of cases where the fact of owning a little land enabled certain colored families to assist others of their race, less fortunate, in the hour of their need. Within gun-shot of my own house are several colored families able to make comfortable some old and helpless 'grandfathers' and 'grandmothers,' by virtue of owning their home. And they do it creditably to themselves, thus honoring their own hearts and keeping their poor off the county."

White or black, the best neighbors, the most useful, enterprising members of a community, the most careful and independent voters, the best citizens of the country at large, are its land owners. The welfare not only of the colored, but also

of the white people of the South, is dependent upon whether the former shall remain, as they began, a landless people, moving at the end of each year, driven hither and thither by every wind that blows, whether from a financial or political quarter, or whether they shall take root in the soil and grow up into a self-reliant, prudent and patriotic race.

This question is rapidly being answered. It is difficult to obtain separate reports of the taxable property of white and colored owners in the various States. In Georgia, however, they are given separately, and this State is probably little, if any, above the average, in proportion to population, in the other States. In this State alone, in 1886, the colored people owned property to the amount of $8,655,298, an increase of nearly $6,000,000 over the amount owned in 1880. It is safe to predict that during the next decade the advance will be far greater. Chief among the factors to accomplish this will, no doubt, be the Industrial schools, so recent a feature, but destined to become one of such importance in promoting the wealth of their race.

In respect to the various pursuits, particularly those of a mechanical nature, which especially occupy the attention of the colored people, while a few among them have been, and are, skilled workmen, the great majority are only common laborers, and in consequence command only common wages. Among the older ones, those who are competent workmen, received their training, for the most part, before the war, and were very valuable property accordingly. Since the war their trades have been as good, or better for them, than if small fortunes had been bequeathed them, for they have thus been the "architects of their own fortunes."

Through the recent interest in mechanical training which has manifested itself by such practical effort and results in all the institutions of learning (in which connection we shall speak of it more at length) a new mine of wealth has been opened at the feet of this race, which needs only to be taken advantage of, and worked successfully, to have the effect: of placing them upon a higher plane of industry with corres-

pondingly high wages; of creating a demand for their labor; of lifting them from the cabin to the college; of making of them men among men in business capacity, wealth and power.

Frederick Douglass, once a slave, but since called "one of the representative men of the times," in his speech delivered in Elmira, New York, August 1, 1880, at a great gathering of colored people, met to celebrate West India emancipation, thus speaks with rare sense and pathos of the encouraging outlook for his people. This, one must remember, was several years ago. Had it been delivered yesterday, there would, perhaps, have been far less of pathos, and much more of hope ringing through it:

"Taking all the circumstances into consideration, the colored people have no reason to despair. We still live, and while there is life there is hope. The fact that we have endured wrongs and hardships, which would have destroyed any other race, and have increased in numbers and public consideration, ought to strengthen our faith in ourselves and our future. Let us, then, wherever we are, whether at the North or at the South, resolutely struggle on in the belief that there is a better day coming, and that we, by patience, industry, uprightness and economy may hasten that better day. I will not listen myself, and I would not have you listen to the nonsense, that no people can succeed in life among a people by whom they have been despised and oppressed.

"The statement is erroneous, and contradicted by the whole history of human progress. A few centnries ago, all Europe was cursed with serfdom, or slavery. Traces of this bondage still remain, but are not easily visible.

"The Jews, only a century ago, were despised, hated, and oppressed, but they have defied, met and vanquished the hard conditions imposed upon them, and are now opulent and powerful, and compel respect in all countries.

"Take courage from the example of all religious denominations that have sprung up since Martin Luther. Each in its turn has been oppressed and persecuted. * * * *

Yet all in turn have conquered the prejudice and hate of their surroundings.

"Greatness does not come to any people on flowery beds of ease. We must fight to win the prize. No people to whom liberty is given, can hold it so firmly or wear it so grandly as those who wrench their liberty from the iron hand of the tyrant. The hardships and dangers involved in the struggle give strength and toughness to the character, and enable it to stand firm in storm, as well as in sunshine.

"One more thought before I leave this subject, and it is a thought I wish you all to lay to heart. Practice it yourselves, and teach it to your children. It is this: Neither we, nor any other people, will ever be respected until we respect ourselves, and we will never respect ourselves until we have the means to live respectably. An exceptionally poor and dependent people will be despised by the opulent, and despise themselves.

"You cannot make an empty sack stand on end. A race which cannot save its earnings, which spends all it makes and goes in debt when it is sick, can never rise in the scale of civilization, no matter under what laws it may chance to be. Put us in Kansas or Africa, and until we learn to save more than we spend, we are sure to sink and perish. It is not in the nature of things, that we should be equally rich in this world's goods. Some will be more successful than others, and poverty, in many cases, is the result of misfortune, rather than of crime; but no race can afford to have all its members the victims of this misfortune, without being considered a worthless race. Pardon me, therefore, for urging upon you, my people, the importance of saving your earnings; of denying yourselves in the present, that you may have something in the future, of consuming less for yourselves, that your children may have a start in life when you are gone.

"With money and property comes the means of knowledge and power. A poverty-stricken class will be an ignorant and despised class, and no amount of sentiment can make it otherwise. This part of our destiny is in our own hands. Every dollar you lay up represents one day's independence,—one day

of rest and security in the future. If the time shall ever come when we shall possess, in the colored people of the United States, a class of men noted for enterprise, industry, economy, and success, we shall no longer have any trouble in the matter of civil and political rights. The battle against popular prejudice shall have been fought and won, and in common with all other races and colors, we shall have an equal chance in the race for life.

"The laws which determine the destinies of individuals and Nations are impartial and eternal. We shall reap as we sow. There is no escape. The conditions of success are universal and unchangeable. The Nation or people which shall comply with them, will rise, and those which violate them, will fall, and, perhaps, will disappear altogether. No power beneath the sky can make an ignorant, wasteful and idle people prosperous, or a licentious people happy. One ground of hope for my people is founded upon the returns of the last census. One of the most disheartening ethnological speculations concerning us has been that we shall die out; that, like the Indian, we shall perish in the blaze of Caucasian civilization. The census sets that heresy, concerning us, to rest. We are more than holding our own in all the Southern States. We are no longer four millions of slaves, but six millions of freemen."

The present estimate, in 1887, would be more nearly correct at eight millions of these freemen. These would be startling figures for those dreamers who, at the close of the war, prophesied their extinction. Their rapid rate of increase has been one of the most remarkable facts in their history. They have been in this country about two hundred and sixty years. At first they were few in numbers. By 1784, they had, by natural increase and importations by slave ships, grown to be about 700,000 strong. Within one hundred years after, from 1784 to 1884, they had multiplied themselves ten times, increasing from 700,000 to 7,000,000.

Their rate of increase, entirely unaided by emigration, from 1870 to 1880, was 37.78 per cent. That of the white population, enormously augmented by foreign emigration, was 28.82

per cent. Of the entire colored population in the United States, nearly all are located in the old slave States, and the District of Columbia; of these, the majority are found in eleven States: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. In some of these States, the white and colored population is nearly equal, and in three of them, Louisiana, Mississippi aud South Carolina, the colored people are in the majority.

Their dwelling place is chiefly between parallels of latitude 30° and 40°, and of longitude, West of Washington, 0° and 25°, including the choicest and most habitable portion of the globe.

They are among a people bound to them by warm and endearing ties, in memory of the time when they were all united together in families. These colored men, now their fellow citizens, were the constant companions of their childhood, the partners of their youthful griefs and joys, and to them they will never seem anything else;—only "boys grown tall."

They also hold in grateful remembrance the time when these were left the custodians of their homes, the protectors of their wives and children, and often their only pecuniary support. Loyally did they fulfil that trust, even while they realized that the masters of those homes were away fighting against their freedom. Never was such love and loyalty known. They would have fought and died to protect their helpless charges, and they did work and care for and watch over them with the tenderness born of the closest ties and highest sense of chivalry.

Hence the relations of the Southern whites and the colored people are those of peculiar attachment, and such as the latter could form nowhere else, even if it were possible to organize the much talked of exodus, and all depart in a body to Liberia, or to some isolated Territory, or even to some of the Northern States.

"Stay South, Young Man," was the subject of an essay

read by Miss Eliza H. Haynes, a young colored woman, at the Commencement of Fisk University, Nashville, in June, 1887. It was ably handled, and in substance was as follows:

"Every colored man must answer the question, 'Where shall I locate?' Young man, stay South. The South has many attractions. Her cotton, sugar and rice are demanded by all the civilized world. Capitalists are seeking her riches. Nor is the South wanting in mineral products. The Mammoth Cave, Natural Bridge and Lookout Mountain are places to which thousands of tourists turn their attention. Of course there are difficulties in the South, but he is most praiseworthy who can master difficulties. The colored people have a better chance here than elsewhere. In Charleston, South Carolina, they have deposited $124,936.35. The colored man thrives in the swamp regions, while the white man dies of malaria. The educated young men are needed here, and it is but right and just that they give their lives to so noble a work."

Alabama, with its rich mineral resources; Georgia, with its fine farming facilities; Louisiana, rich in sugar plantations; South Carolina, in rice fields; Texas, in cotton and cattle; Florida, in tropical fruits; Mississippi, in the raising and manufacturing of cotton; Virginia and Tennessee, with their mineral products, fruit and tobacco crops; North Carolina, rich in tar, turpentine and copper, also in orchards and other agricultural interests; Missouri and Arkansas, with their corn, wheat, and, in the latter State, cotton; and Kentucky, with its stock and tobacco interests; all combine to make the South a field almost unequalled in wealth of resource and possibility of development.

The great amount of labor required in the cultivation and harvesting of cotton renders those States in which it is raised a desirable location for the laboring class of colored people. It is one of the chief products in nearly all of the above mentioned States.

The memorable speech by Mr. Henry W. Grady of Georgia, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, delivered on Forefathers' night, before the New England Society, New York, at its eighty-

first annual dinner, contained an eloquent allusion to the present condition of the colored people at the South:

"No section shows a more prosperous laboring population than the colored people of the South; none in fuller sympathy with the employing and land-owning class. They share our school fund, have the fullest protection of our laws, and the friendship of our people. Self interest, as well as honor, demand that they should have this. Our future, our very existence depend upon our working out this problem in full and exact justice. We understand that when Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, your victory was assured; for he then committed you to the cause of human liberty; against which the arms of man cannot prevail—while those of our Statesmen who trusted to make slavery the corner-stone of the Confederacy, doomed us to defeat as far as they could, committing us to a cause that reason could not defend nor the sword maintain in the light of advancing civilization.

"Had Mr. Toombs said, which he did not say, that he would call the roll of his slaves at the foot of Bunker Hill, he would have been foolish, for he might have known that whenever slavery became entangled in war, it must perish, and that the chattel in human flesh ended forever in New England, when your fathers—not to be blamed for parting with what didn't pay,—sold their slaves to our fathers,—not to be praised for knowing a paying thing when they saw it.

"The relations of the Southern people with the colored man, are close and cordial. We remember with what fidelity for four years, he guarded our defenseless women and children, whose husbands and fathers were fighting against his freedom. To his eternal credit be it said, that whenever he struck a blow for his own liberty he fought in open battle, and when at last he raised his black and humble hands that the shackles might be struck off, those hands were innocent of wrong against his helpless charges, and worthy to be taken in loving grasp by any man who honored loyalty and devotion. Ruffians have maltreated him, rascals have misled him, philanthropists established a bank for him, but the South with the

North protest against injustice to this simple and sincere people.

"To liberty and enfranchisement, is as far as law can carry the colored man. The rest must be left to conscience and common sense. It should be left to those among whom his lot is cast, with whom he is indissolubly connected, and whose prosperity depends upon their possessing his intelligent sympathy and confidence. Faith has been kept with him, in spite of calumnious assertions to the contrary by those who assume to speak for us, or by frank opponents. Faith will be kept with him in the future if the South holds her reason and integrity."

But it is not for us in this work to give the colored people advice. Their conduct in the past has been above all praise. They have been as patient as the earth beneath, as the stars above. They have been law-abiding and industrious. They have not offensively asserted their rights, nor offensively borne their wrongs. They have been modest and forgiving. They have in many cases returned good for evil. When we remember that the ancestors of the white race were in universities, and colleges, and common schools, while the Colored Race were on the auction block, in the slave pen, or in the field beneath the cruel lash, in States where reading and writing were crimes, we are astonished at the progress they have made.

All that we can ask is that they continue doing as they have done. Above all things—*educate your children*—strive to make yourselves independent—work for homes—and whenever it is possible, become masters of yourselves.

CHAPTER XXIX.

EDUCATION OF THE COLORED RACE.

"There is nothing great in this world but man, and nothing great in man but mind."

"Learning elevates the lowest orders of society, stamps the highest value on nobility, and to Princes is the most splendid gem in the Diadem of Sovereignty."

"The key-note to the best society is education whereby all the avenues to advancement are open to all men. Books are our household gods. They make invisible thoughts visible. The great of the earth bow down to the genius of literature."

I submit to your judgment, Romans, on which side the advantage lies, when comparison is made between patrician haughtiness, and plebian experience. * * * Are not all men of the same species? What can make a difference between one man and another but the endowment of the mind?

—*Caius Marius.*

AS is well known it was not the policy of slave holders to educate their slaves. Very rigid laws were made to this effect, and while these were occasionally disregarded, the majority with a quick eye to their own interest, managed to keep the law inviolate. Therefore, when emancipation turned over to their resources four millions of colored people, a very few of them could read. These had been taught, chiefly perhaps, by the white children, their innocent and affectionate charges, who loved to lean gainst "Mammy's" or "Uncle's" knee, and guide them in their laborious task of spelling out words in the Bible, their chosen text book.

Others had kind hearted Mistresses, who were willing in their inexperience or unconsciousness of its results to devote a portion of their lives to this benevolent work, and who perhaps found an interesting pastime in initiating their apt and droll pupils into the rudimentary steps of an education. Little did one think, that, as in the case of Frederick Douglass, this was the unlocking of the door of a mind which would astonish the world with its wealth of hidden treasure.

Frederick's mistress, pleased with the boy's progress, in formed her husband of his advancement, who instantly forbade

further instruction, saying, in substance: You must quit teaching him, for if you teach him to read and write, you cannot control him. It will never do to educate the colored people. If you give them an inch they will take an ell.

Mr. Douglass had been given the inch and as he very quaintly remarks, he "took the ell." The violation of the law in this instance, which led to his escape, followed by his long and bitter tirade against slavery, the effect of which was to fan into hottest flames, the opposition to it, already smouldering in the minds of the North, found that as far as the policy of this regulation was concerned, it was incontrovertible. Its humanity was a different question.

But in the words of Ben. Hill, delivered at Tammany Hall in 1866, true then and true now: "There was a South of slavery and secession—that South is dead. There is a South of union and freedom—that South, thank God, is living, breathing, growing every hour." The colored people are enjoying the full benefits of this new life and growth. "They have been made free, have been made citizens, made eligible to hold office, to be jurymen, legislators, magistrates." The laws provide for their citizenship, just as they provide for that of the white people. This end was gained, not by the Emancipation Proclamation, but by several amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

The Emancipation Proclamation gave freedom to all those in slavery in the States which were in Rebellion. In the other Southern States, the advance of the Union armies practically set their slaves free. This was not enough. President Lincoln himself foresaw its insufficiency and himself urged the amendment, which was made to the Constitution. That clause, which gave legality to the colored man's freedom, and made any relapse into future slavery forever impossible, is found in the Thirteenth Amendment, Article XIII., Sections 1, and 2.

The vital points in regard to their citizenship are found in the Fourteenth Amendment, Section 1, and the Fifteenth Amendment, Sections 1, and 2.

Citizenship not only entitles the colored people to full

protection under the laws in all their rights of person and property, but also gives them the right of suffrage. Any male of legal age, not disqualified by crimes, nor by any condition that would disqualify a white man, has the same lawful right to vote that the President of the United States has.

Hence with this power of the ballot in the hands of such a large number, only a few of whom could read, or write their own names, even if they had decided what those names should be,—the old policy of the slave-holders that they should not be educated, was changed into an urgent need that they should be. However, the thought of policy had little to do with the mighty tide of action that flowed in this direction. That was borne in by a stronger and higher motive—the one of humanity. The willingness to undergo hardships, and accept sacrifices, for the sake of alleviating and enlightening an oppressed and alien race, is one of those "touches of nature" which "makes the whole world kin."

Noble and statesmanlike are the following words of ex-President Hayes:

"The only American citizens who are in no way responsible for slavery, are the sons of Africa. And it is especially these colored people who now eagerly, and with uplifted hands, implore the Nation for that which education alone can give, and without which they cannot discharge the duties which the Constitution requires by making them citizens and voters. The colored people were set free and made citizens and voters by the most solemn expressions of the Nation's will; and now, therefore, the duty to fit them by education for citizenship is devolved upon the whole people.

"To complete reconstruction and regeneration in the South, the only force now left the Government is popular education. Let National aid to this good cause be withheld no longer. Let it be given by wise measures, based on sound principles, and carefully guarded; but let it be given promptly, generously and without stint, to the end that the whole American people of every race, and of every nationality, may be reared up to the

full structure of manhood required for intelligent self-government under our republican institutions."

It is a National duty to aid the States in educating these millions of illiterate children, for National interests are involved in it. It is a National duty, for it must be done; the States most deeply involved cannot do it, and the Nation can easily do it. It is a National duty, for the plain historical reason that the Nation, as such, made these millions of colored people citizens and voters, possibly before they were as a whole prepared for their new duties and relations, and, in the very act of doing it and by the very method of doing it, took from those who are now called on to prepare them for their new duties and relations the ability to do it.

The men of the South accept the issues of the war, and they well use the language of the Honorable W. E. Forster, of the English Parliament, in reply to the radical wing of his own party: "You demand universal suffrage; I demand universal education to go with it."

The people of the North were the pioneers of education among the colored people, and must ever be held in grateful remembrance by those who enjoy the benefits gained for them by much toil and sacrifice. Devoted men and women in great numbers left their pleasant Northern homes and appreciative friends—often, also, left lucrative and honorable positions—and took upon themselves the position of the lowly, and too often despised, teacher of this race in the South. In the days immediately following the war, the prejudice was strong against them and their work, and theirs was, indeed, an unenviable task. The glamour of romance, lofty heroism and devotion, thrown around the missionary to foreign lands, was lacking here, and ostracised from society, regarded with suspicion, and, as the mildest treatment, let severely alone, they had as their reward, only a high sense of duty performed, and a love for the elevation of humanity.

While this condition of affairs was only natural, considering the bitterness that then existed both in the North and South, and was aggravated by the offensive conduct of some

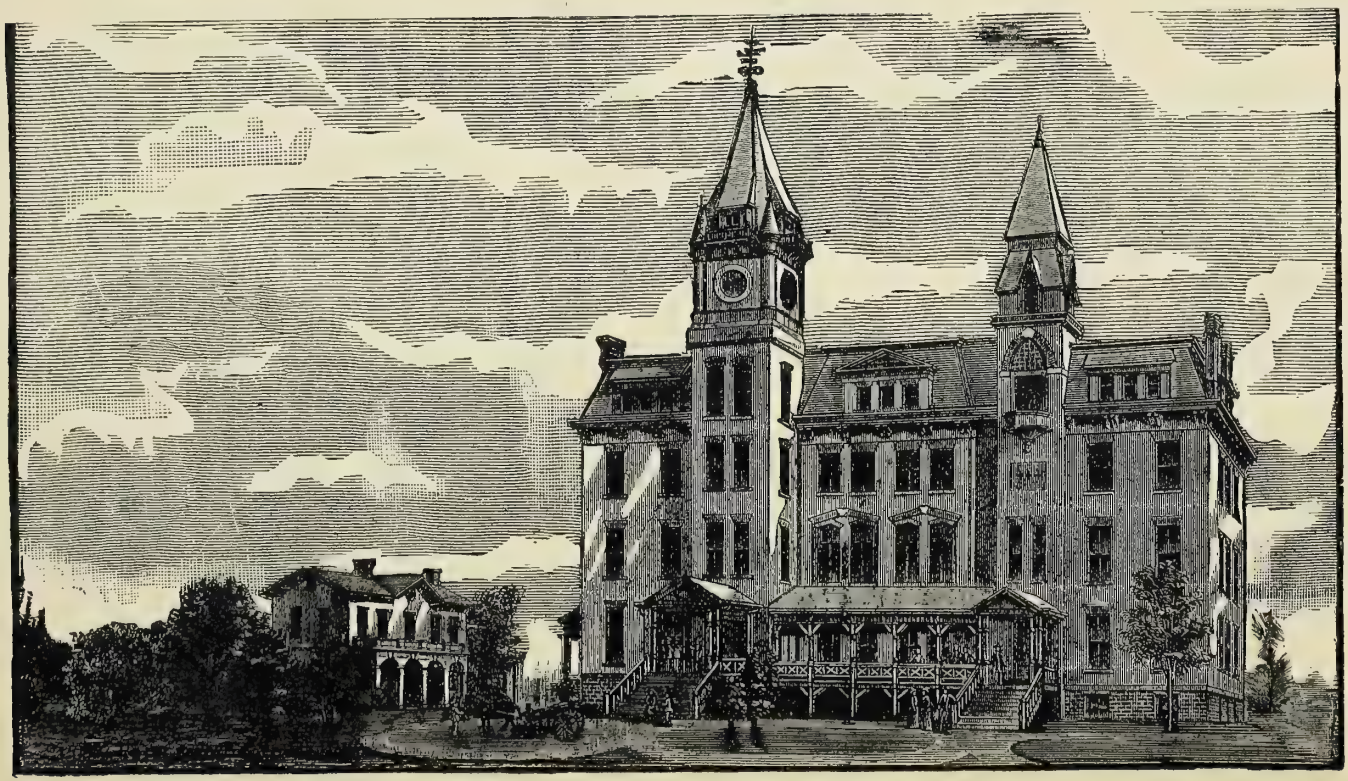
who came among, but were not one with, those teachers, whose only object was to do good, it was none the less a trying place for the latter. and has so continued to a greater or less extent up to the present time.

That this feeling is now fast disappearing is one of the most encouraging facts bearing upon the present condition of the Colored Race. Southern people are beginning to take a decided interest in their education, and in Mobile, for instance, Southern ladies are engaged in teaching their schools.

Some of the wisest and best friends raised up for the colored people at the present time, are Southern men, whose clear judgment, and success in getting at the foundation of this race question, proves that upon the people of the South, whose life-long experience among the race has fitted them for the task, must devolve very largely the solution of its difficulties.

Though a little slow, perhaps, in taking up the educational question, or rather in feeling the burden to be their own, they are joining in, heart and hands now, with those who long have been in the field. As our ex-President has said, it is a National question, and the whole Nation should feel its responsibility.

Speedy results followed the first enlistment into this work. Schools sprung up as if by magic. The Freedmen's Bureau, created by an act of Congress in 1865, was designed to place the freedmen under the direct care and protection of the Government. One of its special objects, and, perhaps, the one which proved most successful, was the advancement of their education. One writer in referring to this agency, tells us that within two years, "fourteen hundred schools had been established, with sixteen hundred and fifty-eight teachers, and over ninety thousand pupils; besides seven hundred and eighty-two Sabbath schools, with over seventy thousand pupils;" and that "the freedmen were then paying toward the support of these schools out of their own scanty earnings, at the rate of more than eleven thousand dollars a month." During the five years devoted to educational work, from 1865 to 1870, the amount expended for this purpose can scarcely be overestimated. It has been rated as high as $15,000,000.



LITTLE ROCK UNIVERSITY, LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

This laid many foundations, and strengthened and made permanent much of the work which shows gigantic proportions to-day. After 1870, the Bureau suspended all operations of an educational nature, and after two years, ceased altogether.

The Peabody Fund has, as some one has expressed it, been "like the dews of heaven distilled" among the colored people, in the effect it has had in the promotion of their education.

This is due to the liberality of the great philanthropist, George Peabody, who, though a banker of London, was an American by birth, his native town being Danvers (now called Peabody) Massachusetts. In 1866 and 1869, while visiting the land of his nativity, he recognized the necessities of the South occasioned by the disasters of the War, and augmented by the freeing of her millions of unlettered slaves, and true to his philanthropic nature, he responded to her need by giving in all $3,500,000, to be used for the promotion of education in the Southern States. The colored people have shared, in a large degree, the benefits of this fund. Its disbursements from 1868 to 1885 inclusive, amounted to over a million and a half dollars.

The policy of using the appropriations from the Peabody Fund, mainly for the training of teachers, has been carried out, as the following report of one year will show: Out of a total of $57,705, the amount expended for teachers' institutes, Normal Schools, and Nashville scholarships, was $52,305. The remaining $5,400 was expended upon public schools. General Grant was one of the sixteen original members of the board of trustees of this fund. They have endeavored, both by correspondence and public addresses of their General Agent, and by the direct use of the income, to secure the establishment of Normal Schools in every State.

The American Baptist Home Mission Society, whose headquarters are in New York, has taken a notable part in the education of the colored people. This Society was organized as early as 1832, and had labored in the South for years before the abolition of slavery. It then included the Baptists of the whole country, North and South. Their work was confined

simply to evangelization, making no attempt to educate the slaves, either preachers or people. Compelled by the agitation of the times to suspend their work in 1845, they were prompt to take it up again, as soon as the outbreak of the Rebellion gave them opportunity. Early in 1862, they began work among the fugitive slaves, and in 1864, had laborers in the District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana. During 1865-6, ninety-seven appointees of this Society worked exclusively among the ex-slaves, and reported in the schools under their charge four thousand pupils.

The need of established schools soon became apparent. School properties began to be purchased as early as 1865. Roger Williams University, at Nashville, Tennessee, being the first. In 1879, they had about seventeen school buildings; in 1887, the number had reached thirty-six. The increase in pupils has been in proportion. In 1872, there were in these institutions, eight hundred pupils; in 1879, one thousand and forty-one; in 1886, three thousand, three hundred and twenty-six.

The total valuation of school property, for colored people, now held by the Society, is $317,000. The whole amount expended for educational purposes, exclusive of about $200,000 for general mission work among them, is computed at about $1,150,000. This money has been contributed both by individual offerings and by regular contributions. The Freedman's Bureau donated $31,500. The Society has under its care a good institution in every one of the old slave States, except Delaware, Maryland and Arkansas. In the latter State, a school at Little Rock is in its incipiency. Eight of these institutions are at the seats of State Capitals, and one at the National Capital. They have generally been committed to the management of Southern people.

One of the most vigorous agencies engaged in the education of the colored people in the South, is the American Missionary Association. Its work is sustained by the same people who back the American Board of Foreign Missions, with head-

quarters at New York. The American Missionary Association, was the first organization to take up the *educational* work among the Colored Race in the South, beginning, September 17, 1861, at Hampton, Virginia. "The first teacher," says Rev. Dr. M. E. Strieby, Corresponding Secretary of the Association, "was Mrs. Mary S. Peake, a very intelligent Christian woman, who represented the white and the colored races, and who had, in some way, obtained an education before the war."

To show something of the growth of this work, and of the character of the people who were engaged in it, we quote a paragraph from an address delivered by Dr. Strieby, at a meeting of the National Educational Assembly, at Ocean Grove, New Jersey:

"At the end of the war, the Association had enlisted the sympathies of the people on both sides of the ocean, and had greatly enlarged its work; so that its receipts, which were only $65,000 for the year before the war, reached $250,000 for the year after the war, and its teachers sent to the freedmen, in 1866, numbered three hundred and twenty. These teachers deserve special mention. Most of them were ladies, and were from the best Christian families of the North; many of them had won distinction in the best schools there, and in the spirit of the highest Christian self-sacrifice, they left honored social positions, the comforts and embellishments of refined homes, and gave themselves, sometimes without compensation, and always with very meagre salaries, to the privation, ostracism, and danger of their new position."

By 1880, the Association was sustaining eight chartered institutions, twelve High and Normal Schools, and twenty-four common schools, in the South, in which the aggregate number of pupils was 7,207, and of teachers, 163. It was then estimated that at least 150,000 pupils had been taught by the students educated in these high schools and Colleges.

Among the schools under their charge, are several of the largest and most successful institutions for the colored people in the South, managed with rare judgment and skill,—Fisk University, at Nashville, Tennessee, Hampton Normal and

Agricultural Institute, at Hampton, Virginia, being among the number. One of these institutions, the Atlanta University, has a much finer library than most of the white Colleges in the South. This library has an endowment of $5,000, the gift of a liberal citizen of New York, Mr. R. R. Graves, who also gave them the greater number of their four or five thousand volumes.

Another of the more important organizations for the advancement of education among the colored people, is the Freedman's Aid Society, "the child of the Methodist Episcopal Church," with headquarters at Cincinnati. This Society was organized in 1866. Previous to this time, this Church had joined with others in an undenominational work among the race, but as the need of more definite effort became apparent, each gradually withdrew into the separate organizations which have existed with unremitting zeal until the present time, and will continue so to exist until the colored people reach a position, where they are self-sustaining, and sufficient unto themselves, in their educational work. It is needless to add, that to the spirit and influence of these earnest organized efforts in their behalf, as well as to the work accomplished by them, the colored people are indebted for the greater share of the blessings which to-day they enjoy.

The Freedman's Aid Society, as was the case with the others, commenced operations by relieving the temporal wants of the ex-slaves, and as soon as practicable the educational work was begun with primary study, which gradually advanced, until some of the institutions of the highest grade for the colored people are among those established and sustained by this Society. In these schools as one remarks, "solutions of problems in Algebra, demonstrations in Geometry, and translations of Classic Authors, may be heard, that would reflect credit upon students of the far famed institutions of our country, in whose veins flow the pure blood of the Anglo-Saxon."

The first school under their care, The Central Tennessee College, was established at Nashville, in 1866. Twenty years

later, in 1886 they had twenty-four institutions for colored people, established and maintained at a cost of $1,250,000, and located at central points thoughout the South. One hundred teachers on an average have been sustained in the field for twenty years. It is estimated that one million pupils have been instructed by their students. The Central Tennessee College alone, has sent out one thousand teachers.

The permanent school property owned by the Society amounts to half a million dollars. This includes a few white Colleges. The buildings of the colored institutions are for the most part, large and beautiful structures. Clark University, at Atlanta, Georgia, includes besides Chrisman Hall, a beautiful residence for the President, a pretty cottage for a professor, workshops for students, and four hundred and fifty acres of land overlooking the city.

Other denominations have done earnest work for the education of the colored people. The Presbyterian Church (in its various branches) has established one University, the Biddle, at Charlotte, North Carolina; also, three Theological schools, seven Secondary Schools, and three Normal Schools. The Episcopalians have two Normal Schools, and seven institutions for secondary instructions. The Friends have an important Normal School at Jonesboro, Tennessee, and also one at Maryville, in the same State. The Roman Catholics have a school for colored people at Baltimore.

The African Methodist Episcopal Church has been an important factor in promoting the educational interests of their race, and merits the highest praise. This organization has been instrumental in establishing three institutions for superior instruction: The Wilberforce University, at Wilberforce, Ohio; Allen University, at Columbia, South Carolina; and Livingstone College, formerly called the Zion Wesley College, at Salisbury, North Carolina. There is a Normal School and a School of Theology connected with each of these three Universities, and Allen University has, in addition, a School of Law.

Besides these Universities, the African Methodist Episco-

pal Church has established St. James Academy and Industrial Seminary, at New Orleans, Louisiana, and Paul Quin College, Waco, Texas.

Three of the teachers in the latter College are graduates of Wilberforce University. The property of the College, which consists of real estate (twenty acres) and improvements, together amounting to $20,000, was paid for by the colored people of Texas, and they have sustained the school from the beginning. The grounds are well cultivated by the male students, each boy being required to work an hour each day. Without the products of this student labor, the school could not have been maintained. The teaching is said to be admirably done. Situated in the central part of the great State of Texas, and under a management calculated to inspire confidence, it is safe to say that the endeavors of the founders of Paul Quin College to make it an institution of high character, will meet with marked success.

In addition to the Paul Quin College, mentioned above, Texas has the following: New Hope Academy, Alto; Jones' Male and Female Institute, Goliad; Hearne Academy, Hearne; Bishop College, Marshall; Wiley University, Marshall; Paris School, Paris; and Tillotson Collegiate and Normal Institute, Austin; all well managed institutions. The latter was organized in 1881 by the American Missionary Association. The property is valued at $30,000. Officers and teachers, 1885–'86, 11; pupils, 113; officers and teachers, 1886-'87, 11; pupils, 125. Of the John F. Slater appropriation, $600.00 is used each year by this institution for student aid for work done. A vigorous work in industrial training is carried on, and the sewing department is well organized.

When the colored people throughout the United States are able thus to take all their institutions of learning under their own management, it will have been a long step towards independence and power.

The non-sectarian institutions are very numerous, and of high grade. Of these there are six Universities, four Secondary institutions, seventeen Normals, and one School of The-

ology, one of Law, and one of Medicine; the three latter connected with Howard University, at Washington.

To summarize: there were, in 1885, for the colored people, at the end of their first twenty years of freedom, twenty-two Universities and Colleges, with two hundred and twenty-two instructors, and three thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine pupils; forty-seven Secondary Schools, with two hundred and fifty-two instructors, and nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-four pupils; fifty-eight Normal Schools, with four hundred and five instructors, and eight thousand three hundred and ninety pupils; twenty-eight Schools of Theology, with ninety-five instructors, and nine hundred and fifty pupils; four Schools of Law, with sixteen instructors, and ninety-six pupils; three Schools of Medicine, Dentistry and Pharmacy, with twenty-four instructors, and one hundred and fifty-one pupils.

Public schools are also established all through the South, which enables every colored youth to acquire a common-school education. These are liberally supported by the different States, as we will see later on.

The enrollment of colored youth in the Public schools throughout the South is given in the United States Commissioner of Education's report for 1884-5, as follows:

Alabama, 90,872	Arkansas, 37,568	Delaware, 4,226
Florida, 32,410	Georgia, 110,150	Kentucky, 31,832
Louisiana, 40,909	Maryland, 32,690	Mississippi, 149,373
Missourl, 27,687	N. Carolina, 112,941	S. Carolina, 99,565
Tennessee, 80,888	Texas, 56,160	Virginia, 109,108
W. Virginia, 4,607	District Columbia, 9,486	

And scattering in other States, making a total enrollment of 1,086,000 pupils, taught in 19,712 Public schools. There are also a great number of Private schools for colored youth, so that their education is well provided for.

This rapid advancement is unprecedented on the pages of history. Considering the recent provision for their education, the colored people have made remarkable progress. Twenty-three years ago, if a school book was found in the house of a

slave, he received nine and thirty lashes forit. And yet, according to the census of 1880 of the colored adult males in the United States, thirty-one per cent. could read and write.

Ex-Governor Pinchback, of New Orleans, says in regard to his race: "It is not to be expected that after two hundred and fifty years of bondage and barbarism, that in twenty-three years the colored people would be able to hold their own with their white brethren. While I am so hopeful of the future of this people, candor compels me to confess that their condition in every respect is not just what it ought to be, but it is immeasurably better than it was twenty-three years ago, and getting better and better every year."

The Honorable D. A. Straker, a prominent colored man of South Carolina, says: "At the close of the war we were in ignorance, and without experience that would enable us to care for ourselves. Colored school houses can now be found all over the South. There are colored school teachers, and we have many schools established, controlled and taught by members of our own race. We have trained lawyers, doctors, journalists, and artists, scientists, and even inventors. We have a magazine of literature, published at Philadelphia, and edited by an eminent colored scholar, Rev. B. T. Turner. We have church edifices, the aggregate cost of which amounts to millions of dollars. Much remains to be done in the way of education, and particularly we need to have the doors of trades opened to us. We need education of the hand as well as of the head. A race prejudice has denied us admission into the work-shop or the practical school of art and science. What progress we have made in those directions has been under great difficulties. In the short space of twenty years we are found in Georgia paying taxes on ten million dollars worth of property, and owning six hundred thousand acres of land; in Louisiana, much more; in the whole South, one hundred million dollars. In no one of the several States of the Union have we failed to acquire property. What we need most is the opportunity to learn trades and engage in industrial pursuits. Our capacity to learn can no longer be doubted. In Congress and in several States mem-

bers of our race have shown their capacity to enter upon the duties of Government. The few artisans we have are growing less by death, and there are none to fill their places. The policy which seeks to educate our children, without giving them the means of employing their education, is foolish and full of harm."

The need of industrial training in the colored schools, referred to by Mr. Straker, has recently obtained universal recognition, and it has within the past few years been made an important feature of nearly all their best institutions of learning.

The liberality of Mr. John F. Slater of Norwich, Connecticut, in bestowing $1,000,000, designed in his own words "for the Christian education of the lately emancipated people, and of their descendants in the Southern States," has through its wise disbursement by Dr. Haygood, the General Agent of the fund, been largely instrumental in the establishment of these industrial departments in the various institutions.

The primary object of these industries is to furnish to the student an opportunity to earn in the labor department a part or all of his or her expenses, while pursuing the studies of the literary department. Very nearly all the mechanical pursuits are represented in the Industrial Schools, and the student can here, under a competent instructor, receive thorough training in almost any one direction in which his talents may lead or taste dictate. So that while the first object is as stated, a still more practical benefit to the student derived from the industrial system is the opportunity given to each one of becoming a skillful artisan, thus preparing him for more important and remunerative positions in after life than colored laborers have been accustomed to fill.

The education of the hand, as well as brain, has had a reflex influence for good upon the latter, as the habits of industry, method and precision acquired in the manual training, are found to be an excellent discipline in the pursuance of the literary branches. To the question whether students have lost or gained in the thoroughness of their literary work, since the

introduction of industrial training, it is invariably answered that they have decidedly gained. Mr. W. B. Patterson, President of Lincoln Normal University, at Marion, Alabama, in which institution the industries are very successfully carried on, says: "The training of the eye and hand has developed their general intelligence, cultivated their powers of observation, and given more precision to their work." He here refers to the Academic department.

The great success of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute of Virginia, which has the largest enrolment of any colored institution, is largely attributed to the able management of the industrial department, and the special attention given to training for the conduct of the practical affairs of life. It will be interesting to notice briefly the industries connected with this school:

The one earliest established was the farm. There are two of these, the Home and the Hemenway farms. It must be remembered that each department is under a competent manager. The Home farm has 494 acres under cultivation, including garden and orchard. The Hemenway, about five miles distant, has 541 acres devoted to the cultivation of corn, wheat, oats, clover, and two hundred acres of pasture land. Those students who are employed on the farms work during the day, and attend night school. A certain number have the care of the stock, which on the two farms amounts to over four hundred head, besides the poultry. Besides the regular work students, boys are detailed from the day school, who go in squads of five, and work on an average of one and a half days per week in good weather. The farms are of great advantage to the school, besides giving employment to the students, as they furnish the boarding department with almost all needful supplies.

The Huntington Industrial Works present a busy, bustling scene. The buzzing, whirring saws, and the flying wheels and hands, indicate the character of the work here performed. The departments of these Works are: The saw-mill, which has employed regularly fourteen students, besides fourteen boys from

the day school, who worked two days in the week; and the wood-working shop, which does practical house-building. The three years course covers every department of the trade of wood-working and house carpentry.

Stone Industrial Hall, a large and handsome building, furnishes room for the printing, sewing and knitting departments. The Printing Office and Bindery contains an improved Campbell press of latest design. Nine students and three ex-students and graduates, have been employed steadily. In the Girls' Industrial Room, where plain sewing, tailoring and dress-making are taught, twelve girls have sewed regularly every day, besides sixty, from the day schools in squads, working one or two days a week. Some of the regular workers apprentice themselves for two years, to learn the tailoring trade; others work at the dress-making trade, and look after the general sewing of the department, with a view to managing a similar business of their own, elsewhere; others are shirt-makers. The Knitting Room is supplied with a machine that will make a pair of mittens in about twelve minutes. This is done by the boys; while in the finishing room, girls sew or crochet up the ragged ends, assort, and bind them into packages for shipment.

The Engineer's Department has five boilers, with a total capacity of over 260 horse power. These supply heat for fifteen buildings, and power for the Printing Office, Gas Works, Laundry, Pumping Station, and for Cooking.

The Pierce Machine Shop has facilities to do general machine and tool work. Seven night students are employed regularly, besides day students working two days per week. Five apprentices work at night, in charge of the boiler, gas and water-works. This department also has charge of the sanitary and fire departments.

The Harness Shop turns off fine sets of harness. The students take pride in good work. They like to see a handsome harness growing under their hands. One student, who finished his apprenticeship at Hampton, taught a year for the money to purchase tools, and now has gone to Lynchburg to open a shop for himself there.

The Shoe Shop, within a year from July 1, 1886, made six hundred and five pairs of new shoes, besides repairing twelve hundred and eighty-nine pairs of old ones.

The Tin Shop, in the same year, filled a contract for over two thousand pieces of tinware, made and repaired, all required by the school, and put on six thousand square feet of tin roofing.

The Paint Shop does all the painting, varnishing, kalsomining and glazing, required by the many buildings belonging to the University. Of these, the most imposing are Virginia Hall, Memorial Chapel, Academic Hall and Stone Industrial Hall. The Huntington Industrial Works, also occupy a very large building.

The Wheelright and Blacksmith Shops do all kinds of blacksmithing, and manufacturing of carts and wagons.

The Household Work—making a home for over six hundred people—includes the work of the Students' Boarding Department, the Laundry, the Cooking Class and the Diet Kitchen, which latter provides food for the sick or convalescent.

Through the Department of the Green House, a lucrative business is carried on. Some of the gardens and grounds are cared for by the workers in this department.

The Girls' Garden contains two acres, and is laid out in vegetables, sweet herbs, fruits and flowers. The purpose of this industry is two-fold: First, to furnish an employment for needy girls, at the same wages as boys receive for the same work; second, to give them practical instruction in this very important line of industry.

The Principal's Report of this school, for the year ending June, 1887, after referring to the opportunity given the student of meeting expenses, while acquiring a literary education through these industries, thus continues:

"Industrial training has a broader signifiance, reaching beyond the term of school life, and giving to boys and girls trades which will be a means of future support and independence. Besides this, the habits of industry thus acquired, the

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ideas of the dignity of labor thus instilled, will be lessons of no less value, than those learned in the Academic course. The disciplinary effort of the system is also valuable. The 'work for idle hands' is reduced to a minimum, and the time spent in study is better appreciated."

The Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute is an illustration of what is being accomplished to a greater or less extent, in all the institutions of learning for the colored people, to promote education in its practical as well as in its highest literary form.

Claflin University, at Orangeburg, South Carolina, is noteworthy in this respect, including all of the most important industries, and with a boarding department managed entirely by the students themselves, and this so successfully, that they provide a satisfactory bill of fare at the cost of only seventy-five cents per week to each student. Other schools are adopting their method with success.

We could mention one or more institutions in every Southern State, which are giving new and special attention to technical training, some of which are most fully equipped, and doing remarkable work. The cottages on the school grounds built by the pupils, and the brick for the more imposing buildings all made by their hands, besides the outside orders filled by them, all testify to the extreme practicability of this instruction.

At Clark University, Atlanta, Georgia, a young man, not yet twenty, who held his own in his text-book, learned carpentry so well, that he could not only use with skill the ordinary tools of his trade, but he could "lay off work", plan a cottage, "make out a bill of lumber," and calculate the expense of building. What is more, he actually built several cottages and did his work well. Dr. Haygood, who gives this instance, says: "If he holds on in his course, he will be a sort of an Apostle among his people and a very useful Apostle too. It is not desirable that all young men educated in Church schools should become teachers and preachers. There must be somebody to support the teachers and preachers."

As one very noticeable result of this training we may expect at no distant day to see the rudely built cabin, which has so long been the abode of the colored man, transformed into the tasteful cottage. These, managed by women trained in all the useful and ornamental arts of housekeeping, their work facilitated by the needful appliances, leaving time and heart for the mental and moral culture of themselves and children, present a picture most pleasing to contemplate. The husband and father, skilled in some useful trade, in the words of President Braden, of Central Tennessee College, "becomes capable of earning more than a bare living; he has hope of accumulating property, which he knows will command respect. Intellectual, moral and social development will follow."

The opinion of a man of so great experience upon the general subject of industrial training as President Braden, commands confidence. He also says: "As the Negro becomes capable of earning and caring for a good income, he leaves off many of the evil habits which are a result of his former condition, and his ignorance of what freedom implied. As I study this problem, I do not see any one thing tending more to a happy solution of its great difficulties and dangers, aside from religion, than this industrial training."

Industrial training is solely for instruction. While it seeks as far as possible to produce useful articles, and thus reduce expenses, it is no present pecuniary help to the student, except in the matter of reducing his expenses, and is costly to the school in teachers' salaries. These schools are more expensive than the non-industrial, instruction being as important as production, and much of the wages being paid for non-productive labor, such as that of the household workers, and that required for repairs, improvements and other school purposes.

By a thorough training in some one of the mechanical pursuits, acquired while pursuing the literary course of study, the student is prepared either to start in a remunerative business for himself, or is in demand, at good salary, by others. He thus places himself in a position to enjoy his education, and use it for his own and society's good.

"The riches of the Commonwealth
Are free, strong minds, and hearts of health;
And more to her than gold or grain,
The cunning hand and cultured brain."

A man who has a good trade at his fingers' ends is more independent than the majority of people. The wealth of the capitalist may take wings and fly away—his trade cannot. Once his, it is his forever. For this reason, a generation back, it was considered very essential that a young man should endure what was, at that time, a very rigorous and hard apprenticeship to some master—often a very cruel one—for a number of years, in order to fit him for an occupation in after life.

This the schools are doing for the colored people, and are combining it so happily with the cultivation of their mental powers, that the work of the one effects the expense of the other. Thus has the cost of acquiring an education among them been reduced to such a low figure, and the advantages contained in that educating been so increased, that the brightest outlook for their future may be based on this alone.

That many of them have realized their privileges in this direction, is evidenced by the large enrolment of those institutions where this training is made a specialty. That a much larger number should inform themselves as to these opportunities, is also very evident. In all departments of business, both among the white and the colored people, the many, are only the ordinary and indifferent followers of their vocations—the few, are the skilled and thoroughly educated for their work, so that the demand for the latter is always great, and the renumeration proportionately so. Mere book learning, unaccompanied by the means of gratifying the tastes, or following the aspirations by it awakened, would prove only an additional source of unhappiness. Education is only a success, as it increases productive power. When it does not bring with it the power to better one's surroundings, if those surroundings are not in accord with the feelings it inculcates, it not only tends to make people unhappy, it tends to make them dishonest. It also tends to break down virtue. Sad is his case whose tastes

demand expenditures his skill cannot provide! Bitter is the fruit of the tree of knowledge, when there lacks the harvests that follow industry!

When, however, these are brought together, as is now the case in the colored schools, they are made one to serve the other. The education of the mind increases mechanical skill, just as truly as mechanical training provides for the enjoyment of mental culture.

Manufacturers find intelligent, educated mechanics more profitable to employ, even at high wages, than those who are uneducated. We have never met anyone who had much experience in employing large numbers of men, who did not hold this opinion, and as a general rule those manufacturers are most successful, who are most careful to secure intelligent and skilled workmen.

We recently read of a weaving room filled with girls above the average in character and intelligence, and there was one girl among them who had been highly educated. Though length of arms and strength of muscle are our advantages in weaving, and though this girl was short and small, she always wove the greatest number of pieces in the room, and consequently drew the largest pay at the end of every month. Education had so quickened all her faculties that its effort was noticeable even in the manual labor which she daily performed.

Through the introduction of mechanical training into institutions of learning, intelligence is made to wait upon industry and industry upon intelligence, together building a character full of symmetry and abounding in usefulness.

The Honorable Commissioner of Education in his Annual Report for the year ending June 30, 1885, says:

"Industrial training, in its simpler forms, was a feature of the earliest schools for the colored people, but its supreme importance as a means of their development is of recent recognition. So important do I consider the industrial part of the educational work among the colored people, especially since the tendency of some trades-unions to exclude colored citizens from industrial training and employment, has become manifest,

that I would urgently recommend all persons and organizations, State, local or corporate, having colored institutions in charge, to promote industrial training by every means, both as a substitute for trade-apprenticeship, when it is denied them, and as the most effective means of preparing the working people of the South for the new and remunerative occupations which must inevitably diversify and round out the social requirements and industrial development of the future of that region."

The colored people also have the benefit of the public school system, and share the school fund. In Delaware, in addition to the school tax from colored citizens, the Legislature appropriates annually five thousand dollars from the State Treasury for educating colored children; in Maryland there is a biennial appropriation; the District of Columbia sets aside one-third of the school fund for colored public schools; in South Carolina, school moneys are distributed in proportion to average attendance, without regard to race; and in all the remaining Southern States, the school fund is divided in proportion to the school population, not regarding race.

The necessity of more and better educational facilities in the South may be appreciated, when we consider that nearly half a million white, and over a million colored, voters there, cannot read the ballots which they cast. This startling fact brings forcibly to mind the warning words of James Madison in 1826: "A popular government without popular information, or the means of acquiring it, is but the prologue to a farce, or tragedy, or both." With a knowledge of these statistics of illiteracy, no one will be surprised to learn that in the census period of 1870 to 1880, there was a net loss in property valuation in ten Southern States of $411,475,090. Three only of the Southern States—Texas, North Carolina and Georgia—showed a gain in that period. The United States Senate, in view of such facts, passed what is known as the Blair Educational Bill—defeated in the House—to appropriate $77,000,000 to be distributed over a period of eight years, to aid in the temporary support of common schools in the South. The absence of schools and

the lack of education, undoubtedly explain in part why property depreciated in those States.

Adding together the gifts of Northern philanthropists and the appropriations from Southern taxation, it has been estimated that since the War over $50,000,000 have been spent on colored education. Of this, the greater portion has come through taxation, nearly all of it being paid by the Southern white people.

In many of the Southern States the white and colored population is nearly equal, in Mississippi and South Carolina, the colored exceeding that of the white. In these instances the white people, as yet, owning by far the greater amount of taxable property, pay more for the public school education of the colored children than for that of their own children.

In 1882, the per capita of white child of legal school age, and of colored child of legal school age, was made the same, this giving them equal advantages in the common school fund of the State. The school age varies in the different Southern States, averaging from six to nine years.

The U. S. Commissioner's Report for 1884–'85, in a summary of all Public Schools, Normal Schools, Secondary Schools and Colleges, for the instruction of the Colored Race in the South, gives a total of 19,222 schools, and 1,053,963 pupils. This was an increase of 1,455 schools and 27,844 pupils in one year.

While walking down the streets of Florence, Alabama, a few days ago, a little white boy came trotting along at my side. We easily fell into conversation. "How old are you?" I said. "Nine years old," he replied. "What reader do you read in?" "I never read in no reader." "Do you go to school?" "No, sir." "Can't you read?" "I can pick out some words right smart." This is the exact testimony of a Southern white boy of the middle class of society to-day! A few rods farther down the street of the same village, a little colored boy overtook me. I invited conversation with him, with the following result: "How old are you?" "Nine years old, boss." "Go to school?" "Oh, yes, sir; been going to school for a long

time." "What reader are you in?" "The Second, sir." "Can you read right along in the Bible without any trouble?" "Yes, sir; I don't have any trouble in reading most any thing." This incident is true to the letter. It is not very exceptional. The colored children are improving faster than the white children in the South. If this state of things continues very long, the Southern people will be obliged to hire colored young men and women to teach their white schools. Think of it! "In New York State, fifty-five white men in a thousand, and in Massachusetts, sixty-two in each thousand, make their mark when they sign a document," says the New York Post, while in Kansas, only thirty-one in a thousand, and in Nebraska, only thirty in a thousand are so illiterate. But in Kentucky, 173 white men in a thousand cannot write their own names!" The schools in the South are seeking to correct this appalling state of things. They not only educate, but they inspire, also, a desire for education in those reached by their influences. It is unfortunate that their influences are mostly confined to the colored people, but that is not because the whites are excluded from school privileges. "None are so blind as those who will not see,"—none are so hopelessly ignorant as those who do not desire to learn.

As a rule, the colored public schools are taught by colored teachers. The tenth census shows that in the United States, in 1880, there were 16,800 separate schools for colored children; there were, also, according to this census, 15,834 colored teachers. Many colored teachers were left out of this enumeration, so that there were comparatively few of their schools taught by white people. The tendency to this adjustment is not confined to the Southern States; outside of the late slave States, there were, in 1880, 382 separate schools for colored children, and 346 colored teachers. It is worthy of notice, that nearly two-thirds of these colored teachers are men; as, according to the same census, 10,520 colored men, and 5,314 colored women, were engaged in teaching the public schools.

In a report to the Board of Trustees of the Slater Fund, in 1885, Dr. Haygood writes as follows:

"The history of education among the colored people during the last twenty years, and all the facts now observable, lead to the certain conclusion that common schools for colored children must depend upon colored teachers." In referring to those already employed, he says: "Not a few of them do admirably well; some do their work so efficiently and usefully as to justify the belief that the colored people are capable of furnishing fit material for making teachers of the most approved quality. The defects of these colored teachers are so great as to create an urgent necessity for training better ones; their excellences and their successes are sufficient to justify the best hopes of success in the effort, and to vindicate the judgment of those who make large investments of money and service to give to colored students opportunity of thoroughly preparing themselves for the task of teaching the children of their people."

Again after speaking of the many institutions for higher instruction, founded for the most part by Northern churches and benevolent associations, and especially of the Normal Schools for the training of colored teachers, he continues:

"It is particularly worthy of mention that among the teachers engaged in these Southern training schools for colored teachers, are a number of colored men and women who have successfully prepared themselves for their work at the older and better schools established for their people in the South. Among these teachers are graduates of Hampton Institute, the Atlanta, Fisk, Howard, and other Universities.

"The success of these colored Principals and Professors demonstrates the capacity of colored students to become the efficient leaders of education among their people when time and opportunity have enabled them to show what they can do. This is most important; for if it was found that the race could not furnish its own educators, it would be found that the race never could be educated. But it has been proved that the Negro race in the Southern States is capable of furnishing its own teachers."

Even before the close of the Civil War attention was turned

toward the necessity of providing for the training of colored teachers and preachers to become the leaders of their people. Although there are now fifty-eight Normal Schools for the colored people, there is an ever-increasing demand for well-trained and competent teachers for their race. The demand for thoroughly trained teachers will be difficult to supply for years to come. However, much is being accomplished toward this end.

The Normal Schools are sending out annually large numbers of graduates, all of whom must teach for a stated length of time, and many of whom enter upon teaching as a life work —that work upon which alone, according to the ancient Greek fable, the gods were disposed to pronounce their blessing.

Coming down to modern ages, it is still regarded among the noblest of all the professions. No one commands more respect than the teacher, consecrated to the highest and best development of his pupils; one who is not only their instructor in all the various branches that make up the scholastic year, but who is himself to them a living inspiration toward all that is true, elevating and good. The teacher should be more than a learned scholar—possessed of even more than the capability to elucidate and make plain his knowledge to others; he should also be a man of noble character, of lofty aspirations, and possessed of an absorbing interest in the well-being of his pupils, with the power to lift them up to his own high plane of thought and action.

"Thou must be true thyself,
If thou the truth wouldst teach;
Thy soul must overflow, if thou
Another's soul wouldst reach;
It needs the overflowing heart
To give the tongue full speech."

Rev. H. M. Tupper, President of Shaw University, said in 1885, that more than a thousand of his former pupils were engaged in teaching. At the same time over four hundred who had gone out from Rust University were in this work. Many of the advanced pupils of the higher grade institutions, teach during the vacations, thus earning funds to continue their own studies.

In 1883 one hundred and twenty-five students attending Fisk University, had been teachers in the public schools, and more than that number taught during the vacation that followed. In Atlanta University that year there were two hundred of these teacher students.

In Central Tennessee College, seven-eighths of the advanced pupils were teaching while pursuing their own studies. More than twelve hundred men and women from this College are teachers of the children of their people.

In the same year, 1883, the President of Howard University, Rev. W. W. Patton, said that ninety per cent of his graduates and advanced pupils, were teachers.

The requirement at Hampton, that each student should teach one year before finishing his course at that Institute, is attended by most beneficial results. The senior class returns to its work with a more definite purpose, and a clearer idea of the needs of those to whom they are to go, as teachers, than they ever before possessed.

The men and women who have been students of those and other high grade schools, including the Normals, are by far the best colored teachers now in the South. They understand, and follow the most approved methods, and are doing more to overcome illiteracy among their people than any other. They bring also the high ambitions and strongest of purpose with them, that their own college life inculcated, and are enthusiastic in their endeavors to reach others with the same ladder of inspiration.

A striking example of what can be done by colored teachers for their own race is shown by the State Normal School, Tuskegu, Alabama. The Principal, Mr. B. T. Washington, is a graduate of Hampton Institute, both he and all his teachers being colored people. This school was established by act of the Legislature of Alabama, in 1880, and was opened July 4, 1881, with one teacher and thirty pupils. Alabama appropriates $3,000 annually to the support of this school. This sum is used almost entirely for tuition, making the tuition free to the students. The money for the buildings were obtained by the

Principal from friends, North and South. The able-bodied students work out part of their board bill, which is small, each month. To quote the words of the Principal: "Work is required of all for purposes of discipline and instruction, and of teaching the dignity of labor." Those who have no money work all day, and attend night school, after the manner of Hampton Institute, whose spirit Mr. Washington endeavors to inculcate as far as his situation allows.

A new building has recently been erected for girls' dormitories, called Alabama Hall. It is of brick, four stories, and cost $9,000. The brick are all made on the place by the students, who also supply nearly all the brick used in Tuskegu and vicinity.

The various industries vigorously carried on, are Carpentry, House-painting, Brick-making, Brick-laying, Printing and Farming for the boys; Cutting, Sewing, Laundry work, and all departments of Household work, for the girls.

The special objects to be kept in view, according to the Principal, are:

"1st. To give the best mental training, with a view of turning out efficient common-school teachers.

"2d. To furnish the student labor that will be valuable to the school. It must be valuable, because students are credited on their bills with work done, and it enables many of the poorer ones to obtain their education.

"3d. In all things we try to make them see beauty in labor, rather than degradation. When our students graduate, they are not ashamed to work with their hands."

The number of teachers and officers in 1886, were thirteen; number of students, two hundred and five.

Mr. John H. Burrus, President of Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, Rodney, Mississippi, is also a colored man —a graduate of Fisk University of the class of 1875. One of his professors and one tutor are also graduates of Fisk. The large enrolment of Alcorn University testifies to its popularity.

We subjoin a list of the twenty-two Universities and Colleges, and their respective locations. "Education is the bul-

wark of freedom and free government." And these are her temples:

Philander Smith College, - - Little Rock, Arkansas
Atlanta University, - - - Atlanta, Georgia
Clark University, - - - - Atlanta, Georgia
Berea College, - - - Berea, Kentucky
Leland University, - - New Orleans, Louisiana
New Orleans University, - - New Orleans, Louisiana
Southern University, - - New Orleans, Louisiana
Straight University, - - New Orleans, Louisiana
Rust University, - - Holly Springs, Mississippi
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College,
Rodney, Mississippi
Biddle University, - - Charlotte, North Carolina
Shaw University, - - Raleigh, North Carolina
Livingstone College, - - Salisbury, North Carolina
Wilberforce University, - - Wilberforce, Ohio
Lincoln University, - Lincoln University, Pennsylvania
Allen University, - - Columbia, South Carolina
Clifton University and College of Agriculture,
Orangeburg, South Carolina
Central Tennessee College, - - Nashville, Tennessee
Fisk University, - - - Nashville, Tennessee
Roger Williams University, - Nashville, Tennessee
Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute,
Hampton, Virginia
Howard University, - - Washington, District Columbia

These institutions, being largely supported by the liberality of individuals, or organizations, the expense borne by the pupil is comparatively small, amounting to little over the price of board and incidentals, and these also are reduced to such low figures, that without the help of the industrial department, the wages of a few months work will cover a year's tuition, board and incidental expenses, at the best Universities.

That this can be and has been accomplished, and that the students are capable of the industry and sacrifice required,

may be seen by the following incidents which occurred in the schools under the charge of the American Missionary Association. Many more such incidents illustrating an earnest desire for an education, and a willingness to work for it, might be cited:

An orphan girl, about eighteen years old, so desired an education, that by hard work and careful saving through the summer, she earned enough to keep herself in school a year. At the close, however, of the first month, she took her books to her teacher's desk, saying she would have to leave at once; and breaking down, she wept bitterly. Little by little, the the sympathetic teacher learned her story. Her aunt had been sick, and, she had given her the earnings, hoarded for the year's tuition, and she had not money enough to meet even one month's demands. She had resolved to go into the country, where she could earn a little by picking up potatoes, and by hard work she helped to save enough to return to school by Christmas. This was, perhaps, before the introduction of the industrial system which would have obviated all her difficulties. She was, however, told that she might remain, for the present, with free tuition, and she took her place again, very grateful and studious, offering to give up her desk when the room became full, and herself take a stool or chair.

This is the preparation for a career, which can but be one of usefulness and honor. The fruition of her present toil and sacrifice, will undoubtedly appear in a noble life in after years.

Another instance, equally interesting, is that of a young man, nearly thirty-five years of age, in an advanced class. In the spring he thought he should not be able to return to school the next fall, for lack of money. He went out, however, resolved never to spend an idle day, he would work even if wages were low. Whenever he failed to secure better work, he went to the woods splitting rails. Days and days he worked there through the heat, and found that by arduous labor, he could clear exactly thirty-five cents a day. "I should have kept on," said he, "had it been but twenty-five." The result

of his summer's work was that he found himself, at school time, with more money saved than at any previous Fall.

Perhaps it did not occur to him that this summer's work was in itself the best kind of education. He has learned one of life's most important lessons, that a simple, steady, industry will win in the end far greater results, than will any number of fitful, though brilliant successes. He has also gained the strength and self respect, which accompanies systematic effort with a noble purpose in view, and the restraint put upon self for self's highest good; thus accomplishing what years of schooling, which cost no forethought or self-denial, never could have done.

Those students who complete the advanced course at the various Universities, occupy exceptionally prominent places in the history of the times, and in the progress of their people. Among the Alumni of Fisk University are a President, Professors and Teachers in other Universities; Principals of Normal Schools, High Schools, and various Public Schools, editors of newspapers; lawyers—one practicing in Nashville, Tennessee, another pursuing his studies still further at Yale College, Connecticut; a member of the Tennessee Legislature; and of the young women, all, almost without exception, filling important positions as teachers, musicians, etc.

Two of Hampton Institute's graduates are editors of papers, one in Boston, the other in Kansas City. Another is connected with a paper in Staunton, Virginia, and three more publish the Alumni Journal, once a month, at Hampton. Another occupies a lucrative Government position, and at the same time is taking a course in Pharmacy, at Howard University, Washington.

By far the greater number of these are teachers. The colored schools in Norfolk and Portsmouth are largely under the care of Hampton graduates, and in Lynchburg, in which city alone, are 1,150 colored children in the schools, Hampton is well represented among the teachers. Of the twenty-six teachers in Gloucester County, Virginia, all but nine are from this University. Preaching, practicing law, store-keeping, and farming are the occupations of others.

One favored son of Hampton has been singing his way around the world, and when last heard from was enjoying the wonderful beauty of New Zealand scenery. A native African, who graduated in 1884, writes back from Sierra Leone, that after teaching a while, he wishes to return to America to fit himself for greater usefulness.

These two institutions only serve to illustrate what each of the twenty-two Universities are accomplishing through those who persevere until they finish the advanced course of instruction, and enter into the charmed circle of those thoroughly prepared for, and capable of entering upon, the highest walks of life.

The centres of education for the colored people, it will be seen, are Atlanta, New Orleans and Nashville. Besides the Universities already referred to at these educational centres, Atlanta has: Spellman Seminary for Girls and Women, Storr's school and Atlanta Baptist Seminary, Schools of Secondary instruction; Theological schools:—Atlanta Baptist Seminary and Grammar school of Theology, the latter connected with Clark University.

New Orleans has, besides the previously mentioned Universities: Peabody Normal School for colored students, and Normal Departments of Straight and New Orleans Universities; St. James Academy and Industrial Seminary, School of Secondary instruction; Schools of Theology connected with Straight, Leland and New Orleans Universities, and a School of Law connected with Straight University.

At Nashville, besides the Universities mentioned, are Normal and Theological Schools in connection with each of the three Universities; a School of Law, and one of Medicine, connected with Central Tennessee College, and a colored department in the Tennessee School for the Blind.

About March 1, 1887, a number of colored people held a meeting in New Orleans, to complain of the lack of sufficient school accommodations for the colored children of the city. They, at the same time, organized a club known as the Justice, Protective and Educational Club, for the purpose of securing these additional privileges, and generally to advance the edu-

cation of the colored people. The movement originated entirely among the Negroes, and grew out of their own ideas and aspirations, and is probably the first distinctly Negro movement of that kind in the South.

The club has been laboring energetically since, and has succeeded beyond its expectations. It has secured the promise of a number of subscriptions tc the fund it is raising for an additional school house for colored youth, and will soon begin to construct the building and to tender it to the city.

It will also be in a financial condition to establish what has been another pet scheme of the Society, a down-town library for the benefit of the colored people of the lower district. Most of the leaders in the club, are of the class of colored people known as Creoles, whose native tongue is French.

Another evidence of the educational advance of the colored people in Louisiana, is shown in the opening, at about the same time, in New Orleans, of the Southern University. The College is assisted by the State, and under State control. The building, which is located on the corner of Magazine and Sernat Streets, in the centre of the most fashionable quarter of the city, is one of the handsomest educational buildings in the South, occupying an entire square of ground.

The College opened with 400 colored youth in attendance. The opening ceremonies showed a mingling of whites and blacks, such as is seldom seen there. The principal address was delivered by Dr. B. M. Palmer, of the First Presbyterian Church, the most ardent ecclesiastical supporter of slavery in ante-bellum times, while Governor McEnery, ex-Governor Pinchback, and others, spoke.

The four Universities in New Orleans have an aggregate attendance of over two thousand students. The buildings of these high grade institutions are handsome structures. A four-story brick building, belonging to New Orleans University, has recently been completed. The property belonging to Leland University is rated at $125,000. The endowments amount to $95,000, which place the institution upon a solid basis. Straight University is well equipped for University



JUBILEE HALL—FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENN.

work, and has a large enrolment. The industrial system has recently received an added impetus in these institutions, and each year sees it more thoroughly established and perfected.

The Primary schools in New Orleans have been insufficient and defective. This, as we have seen, the Educational Club is endeavoring to correct, and no doubt ample quarters will soon be provided for them.

The "Jubilee Singers" of Fisk University, at Nashville, have made a name for themselves and their University on two Continents, and by seven years of almost continuous labor, from the proceeds of their concerts in this country and in Europe, succeeded in purchasing the present site of the University, and built Jubilee Hall, to which, in 1876, the University proper was transferred. It is an elegant and commodious structure, five stories, and situated upon one of the most beautiful and commanding locations about Nashville. General Clinton B. Fisk, for whom the University is named, was formerly connected with the Freedmen's Bureau. He still takes a great interest in the University, and with his wife and children attends its Commencement exercises.

The "Tennesseeans" were also a popular troupe of gifted singers connected with Central Tennessee College. They delighted many audiences all over the land, and from the proceeds of their concerts, built a commanding four story brick edifice, one of the five attractive buildings belonging to this institution.

The musical ability of the colored people, as a race, is indisputable, and few songs thrill and delight an audience so completely as their peculiar and inimitable melodies.

It may be asked, what is the character of the literary work done in the Universities for the colored people, and what they study. We copy from the catalogue of 1886-87 the course of study of Atlanta University, and let it speak for itself. This is a worthy and fair representation of other schools of similar grade throughout the South:

COLLEGE COURSE.

For admission to this course, students must pass a thorough examination in

the common English branches, and also in the studies of the Preparatory Course or their equivalent.

The degree of B. A. is given to graduates of this course.

FRESHMAN CLASS.

GREEK—Grammar, *Hadley;* First Lessons, *Boise;* Xenophon's Anabasis, Three Books, *Boise.*

LATIN—Cicero, On Old Age and Friendship, *Chase* and *Stuart;* Livy, History, *Chase* and *Stuart;* Latin Prose, *Jones.*

MATHEMATICS—Algebra, *Peck;* Plane Geometry, *Bradbury.*

SOPHOMORE CLASS.

GREEK—Xenophon's Anabasis, Three Books, *Boise;* Xenophon's Memorabilia, *Winans;* Homer's Odyssey, *Merry.*

LATIN—Livy, History, *Chase* and *Stuart;* Tacitus, Germany and Agricola *Greenough;* Horace, Odes, *Chase* and *Stuart.*

MATHEMATICS—Solid and Spherical Geometry, *Bradbury;* Trigonometry and Surveying, *Bradbury.*

ENGLISH—Literature, Rhetoric, *Kellogg.*

JUNIOR CLASS.

GREEK—Olynthiacs and Phillipics of Demosthenes, *Tyler;* Testament; Gorgias of Plato, *Woolsey.*

LATIN—Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, *Chase* and *Stuart.*

SCIENCE—Natural Philosophy, *Peck's Ganot;* Astronomy, *Lockyer;* Chemistry, *Steele;* Geology, *Dana.*

SENIOR CLASS.

MENTAL PHILOSOPHY—*Haven.*

LOGIC—*Jevons.*

POLITICAL ECONOMY—*Wayland.*

MORAL PHILOSOPHY—*Fairchild.*

EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY—*Hopkins.*

HISTORY—History of Civilization, *Guizot.*

NATURAL THEOLOGY—*Chadbourne.*

GERMAN—*Whitney's Grammar and Reader,* OR CIVIL LIBERTY AND LECTURES ON ART.

The Southern States are not behind in contributions toward the higher education of the colored people. Maryland appropriates two thousand dollars annually for the support of a Normal School for the training of colored teachers; out of the proceeds of the Land Scrip Fund donated by Congress—Virginia gives ten thousand dollars for the school at Hampton; South Carolina gives seven thousand dollars to Claflin University; Georgia out of her own treasury, pays eight thousand dollars for Atlanta University; Mississippi pays for the higher education of her colored youth an average of ten thousand dollars; the Constitution of Louisiana provides for the same purpose, an annual appropriation of not less than five thousand

dollars nor more than ten thousand dollars; Missouri appropriates five thousand dollars per annum to the Lincoln Institute, a school for the training of colored teachers.

Thus have been opened to the colored people, so recently unprovided for, opportunities for the highest intellectual culture. During the course of an address of welcome delivered at a large meeting of leading colored men, assembled at Brenham, Texas, in 1886, by Professor T. J. Harris, a colored man, he forcibly remarks:

"We are passing from the ignorance and superstition brought on and fostered by years of thraldom, to the intelligence which freedom predicates; from the immorality of two hundred and forty years, to that higher standard of morality which ever characterizes the daily life of the highest social and scholastic circles; from the muscle and sinew power of the past to the multitudinous appliances of the improved machinery of the present. We are living in a grand and awful time. We are measured, not by the number of pounds which we are able to lift from the earth, but by that other power whch is required to move the world. Man's importance has been most beautifully delineated by Dr. Watts, who says:

'Were I so tall to reach the pole,
Or mete the ocean with my span,
I must be measured by my soul,
The mind's the standard of the man.'

"This being true, let us go to nobler works and bolder theories, and remember the higher we fix our standard, the greater will be the measures of attainments."

A few ex-slaves learned to read after they were made free, much to their praise, but all of them, almost without exception, have zealously given to their children the advantages which in early life were denied to themselves. In the poorest families, where the work is most laborious, the children, with commendable determination, are kept at school.

It is said a little learning is a bad thing, and so it has many times proved, so that parents, friends and society at large, are sometimes disposed to question its advisability altogether,

when embodied to disadvantage in some once lovable form. Rev. A. P. Miller—also a colored man—a graduate of Fisk University, in an Alumni Address delivered to the class of 1887, spoke as follows:

"The temptation to which we, as young men and women, who are graduated from our Southern institutions and sent out as leaders unto our people, are exposed, is that of ignoring the race which we by Providence are called upon to lead to something higher and better in mental and moral worth and culture.

"Many a father and mother has since the late Civil War been cut to the very heart because a little education received at College, has so puffed up the heart and head of a once obedient and affectionate son and daughter, that father and mother are no longer objects of veneration and respect."

This tendency of theirs has been observed, not only in the family circle, but in the entire community, to such an extent that many short-sighted ones have cried out against the education of the colored people, declaring it unfitted them for any walk in life, and rendered them odious both as individuals and citizens. This, we must remember, is the effect of a "little learning," and instead of being an argument against education, is rather one in favor of as thorough and rapid advancement as possible. No one ever heard of objecting to a baby's learning to walk, because the inevitable first falls rendered it dangerous. So is it just as unreasonable to object to an education, on the grounds that the first steps are so often accompanied by an inflated idea of one's own importance, and an equally contracted opinion of that of others.

It is everywhere observed that the truly educated and most cultivated are the most unassuming, and this truth is illustrated among the colored people who have attained to this higher degree of culture.

"He that thinks himself the happiest man, is really so; but he that thinks himself the wisest, is generally the greatest fool."

"A wise man," says Seneca, "is provided for occurrences of any kind: The good he manages, the bad he vanquishes; in pro-

priety he betrays no presumption, and in adversity he feels no despondency."

Education of every kind has two values:—value as knowledge, and value as discipline. Daniel Webster says: "Knowledge does not comprise all which is contained in the large term of education. The feelings are to be disciplined, the passions are to be restrained; true and worthy motives are to be inspired; a profound religious feeling is to be instilled, and pure morality inculcated under all circumstances. All this is comprised in education."

By education, the whole being is enlarged and exalted; the scope of view is widened; the objects of interest are increased; the subjects of thought are multiplied; life is more filled with emotion, and the man is raised in the scale of creation.

Our chief talents and our best powers lie dormant until they are awakened by cultivation, and by it are nourished, pruned and trained, until they grow into means of usefulness and adornment.

One may, by earnest application and the wise improvement of every moment, accomplish much toward his own mental culture, even though deprived of school privileges, and obliged to spend the greater part of each day in efforts to obtain a livelihood. We are not lacking in illustrious examples of this. Some of our greatest men, in fact nearly all who have attained special eminence, have, through their own untiring exertions, arisen from the humblest positions,—conspicuous among whom is the colored man's benefactor, Abraham Lincoln, and the colored man's own representative, Frederick Douglass; the latter, who, when a slave, used to carry a copy of Webster's spelling book in his pocket, and when sent on errands was accustomed to step aside among his white boy friends and take from them a stealthy lesson in spelling. These stolen interviews, the hoarded earnings which went to purchase books, and the manifold trials necessitated by the environments of this young enquirer after knowledge, are in strange contrast to the rich opportunities for an education now, not only offered to, but appealing for, the acceptance of the colored youth of our land.

The contrast of to-day with the past, in the respect of educational facilities for the colored people, is yet more forcibly shown in the story of Canterbury Green, Connecticut. The following, let us keep in mind, occurred in a Northern State, at a no more remote date than 1831, and serves to illustrate the race prejudice existing in that section also, only a few years before it arose in arms against Southern customs, and in condemnation of Southern feeling. According to the account drawn from a history of Windham County, Connecticut, and published in the editorial column of Scribner's Magazine, December, 1880:

"It appears that, in 1831, Miss Prudence Crandall, a spirited, well known, and popular resident of the County, started a school for girls at Canterbury Green. The school was popular, and was attended not only by girls from the best families in the immediate region, but by others from other Counties and other States. Among these pupils she received a colored girl. She was at once told by the parents of the white children that the colored girl must be dismissed, or that their girls would be withdrawn from her establishment. Miss Crandall must have been a delightfully plucky women, for she defied her patrons, sent all their children back to them, and advertised her school as a boarding school for 'young ladies and little misses of color.' Of course the people felt themselves to be insulted, and they organized resistance. They appointed a committee of gentlemen to hold an interview with Miss Crandall, and to remonstrate with her. But that sturdy person justified her course, and stood by her scheme, as well she might. It was her business and it was none of theirs. The excitement in the town was without bounds. A town meeting was hastily summoned to devise and adopt such means as would effectually avert the nuisance, or speedily abate it, if it should be brought into the village.

"In 1833, Miss Crandall opened her school, against the protest of an indignant populace, who after the usual habit of a Yankee town, called and held another town meeting, at which it was resolved: 'That the establishment or rendezvous falsely

denominated a school was designed by its projectors as the theater * * * * to promulgate their disgusting doctrines of amalgamation, and their pernicious sentiments of subverting the Union. These pupils were to have been congregated here from all quarters, under the false pretense of educating them, but really to scatter fire-brands, arrows, and death among brethren of our own blood.'

"Let us remember that all this ridiculous disturbance was made about a dozen little darkey girls, incapable of any seditious design, and impotent to do any sort of mischief. Against one of these little girls the people leveled an old vagrant law, requiring her to return to her home in Providence, or give security for her maintenance, on penalty of 'being whipped on the naked body.'"

At this time, as the author says: "Canterbury did its best to make teacher and scholars uncomfortable. Non-intercourse and embargo acts were put in successful operation. Dealers in all sorts of wares and produce agreed to sell nothing to Miss Crandall, the stage driver declined to carry her pupils; and neighbors refused a pail of fresh water, even though they knew their own sons had filled her well with stable refuse. Boys and rowdies were allowed unchecked, if, not openly encouraged, to exercise their utmost ingenuity in mischievous annoyance, throwing real stones and rotten eggs at the windows, and following the school with hoots and horns, if it volunteered to appear in the street.

"Miss Crandall's Quaker father was threatened with mob violence, and was so terrified that he begged his daughter to yield to the demands of popular sentiment, but she was braver than he, and stood by herself and her school. Then Canterbury appealed to the Legislature, and did not appeal in vain. A statute, designed to meet the case, was enacted, which the inhabitants received with pealing bells, and booming cannon, and every demonstration of popular delight and triumph. This law was brought to bear upon Miss Crandall's father and mother in the following choice note from two of their fellow-citizens:

"'Mr. Crandall: If you go to your daughter's, you are to be fined one hundred dollars for the first offense, two hundred dollars for the second, and double it every time. Mrs. Crandall, if you go there, you will be fined, and your daughter Almira will be fined, and Mr. May, and those gentlemen from Providence (Messrs. George and Henry Benson) if they come here, will be fined at the same rate. And your daughter, the one that has established the school for colored females, will be taken up the same way as for stealing a horse, or for burglary. Her property will not be taken, but she will be put in jail, not having the liberty of the yard. There is no mercy to be shown about it.'

"Soon afterward, Miss Crandall was arrested and taken to jail. Her trial resulted in her release, but her establishment was persecuted by every ingenuity of cruel insult. * * * * Religious services held in her own house were interrupted by volleys of rotten eggs and other missiles. The house was then set on fire. The fire was extinguished, and in 1834, on September 9, just as the family was going to bed, a body of men surrounded the house silently, and then, with iron bars, simultaneously beat in the windows. This, of course, was too much for the poor woman and girls. Miss Crandall herself quailed before this manifestation of ruffianly hatred, and the brave woman broke up her school and sent her pupils home. Then the people held another town meeting, and passed resolutions justifying themselves and praising the Legislature for passing the law for which they had asked."

This, as the writer remarks, reads like a romance of the dark ages, nevertheless it is an actual fact and occurred just as here related. Connecticut girls now go South to teach the colored people, and their action is now perhaps as strongly endorsed by public opinion in their State, as that of Miss Crandall was one condemned.

This great revulsion of feeling in so short a time may well cause thoughtful people to contemplate what wonderful variations in customs and opinions may take place during the next half century, and compels them to feel that in all which

concerns the Colored Race in America, that lapse of time will solve many problems and witness a radical change.

To the onward march of progress and education serious obstacles often present themselves, as has been the case in Georgia. During the last session of her Legislature a bill was passed making it a penal offense to teach children of both races in the same school. There is a striking similarity in this Act of the Georgia Legislature to that of Connecticut thirty-four years ago, as just related in the story of Prudence Crandall. She was the victim of an ignorant fanaticism, and it is possible that the shameful scenes then enacted would be again produced if some one having the same opinions should venture to teach a school of children of both races. "The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceeding fine." The Legislature of Connecticut has, during its last session, passed a bill granting an annuity to Prudence Crandall of $400 for the remainder of her life. She is now eighty-four years old and in poor circumstances. Probably the time will come when Georgia will be as ashamed of this law as Connecticut is now of the one she passed before the Civil War.

What heights may be reached by those unencumbered by the weights which, in the past, have tended to drag them down; what rapid progress made by those to whom the path of knowledge is now rendered so inviting and easy of access, we cannot forecast. The history of their advancement rests now with them, rather than, as in the past, upon the will and wishes of a dominant race. The latter have, since the colored man's freedom, seemed to feel that upon them rested the entire burden of his future, as well as immediate welfare, and have discharged their duty toward him with an earnestness and justness which seemed to desire to atone for all their share in his darker past. This burden must gradually fall from their shoulders upon his own, and, as he joyfully accepted his freedom, so must he wisely accept its attendant responsibility, and win for himself a position among men.

Dr. Haygood, in his inimitable work, "Our Brother in Black," published in 1881, thus wrote of his higher culture:

"Let the schools and colleges make out of him the utmost that is in him to make. Then let the world measure him by what he does. If any fear that he will, when at his fullest growth, be too great a man, let *them* grow, or organize an 'exodus,' and find a place where they will be free from his overshadowing greatness. My argument concerns his education in the three 'R's.' If anything in this world is settled, it is settled that he can learn to read, to write, and to 'cipher.' And he learns well and rapidly. I want no proof beyond what I have seen with my own eyes, and heard with my own ears. He can learn a great deal more, but these parts of knowledge he must learn for his safety and ours. These are the keys; give them to him, and let him unlock all the doors of wisdom he can. This is fair; it is wise; it is necessary; it is right."

There is little doubt but when once furnished with these "keys," the Colored Race are capable of reaching and unlocking all the doors accessible to any other people. We do not need to dip into the future for the law of higher inheritance to note examples of this truth, or even to depend entirely upon the present, with its increased facilities to this end, but may go back and take an instance from the dark days of slavery, and of one direct from the wild life of Africa. We refer to Phillis Wheatley, who, though a "child of Africa," was, for her literary talent and virtue, accorded the highest distinction and honor both in the United States and in Europe. It seems that she was brought over to this country in a slave vessel, from Africa, when a little child. The following from her biography by Benson J. Lossing, L. L. D., will be interesting:

"The wife of a respectable citizen of Boston, named Wheatley, went to the slave market in that city, in 1761, to purchase a child-Negress, that she might rear her to be a faithful nurse in the old age of her mistress. She saw many plump children, but one of delicate frame, modest demeanor, and clad in nothing but a piece of dirty carpet wrapped about her, attracted her attention, and Mrs. Wheatley took her home in her chaise, and gave her the name of Phillis. The child seemed to be about seven years of age, and exhibited remarkable intelligence



Phillis Wheatley

and apt imitative powers. Mrs. Wheatley's daughter taught the child to read and write, and her progress was wonderful. She appeared to have very little recollection of her birth-place, but remembered seeing her mother pour out water before the sun at its rising. With the development of her intellectual faculties, her moral nature kept pace; and she was greatly loved by all who knew her for her amiability and perfect docility. She soon attracted the attention of men of learning; and as Phillis read books with great avidity, they supplied her. Piety was a ruling sentiment in her character, and tears born of gratitude and love for her mistress, often moistened her eyes. As she grew to womanhood, her thoughts found expression through her pen, sometimes in prose, but more frequently in verse; and she was often an invited guest in the families of the rich and learned, in Boston. Her mistress treated her as a child and was extremely proud of her.

"At the age of about sixteen years, Phillis became a member of the 'Old South Church,' then under the charge of Dr. Sewall; it was about this time she wrote the poem of which the verse appended below, is an extract. Earlier than this she had written poems, remarkable for both vigor of thought and pathos in expression. Her memory, in some particulars, appears to have been extremely defective. If she composed a poem in the night, and did not write it down, it would be gone from her forever in the morning. Her kind mistress gave her a light and writing materials at her bedside, that she might lose nothing, and in cold weather a fire was always made in her room at night. In the Summer of 1773, her health gave way, and a sea voyage was recommended. She accompanied a son of Mr. Wheatley to England, and there she was cordially received by Lady Huntingdon, Lord Dartmouth and other people of distinction. While there, her poems, which had been collected and dedicated to the Countess of Huntingdon, were published, and attracted great attention. The book was embellished with a portrait of her, from which our picture was copied. She was persuaded to remain in London until the return of the Court, so as to be presented to the King, but, hear-

ing of the declining health of her mistress, she hastened home. That kind friend was soon laid in the grave, and Phillis grieved as deeply as any of her children. Mr. Wheatley died soon after, and then his excellent daughter was laid by the side of her parents. Phillis was left destitute, and the sun of her earthly happiness went down. A highly intelligent colored man, of Boston, named Peters, offered himself in marriage to the poor orphan, and was accepted. He proved utterly unworthy of the excellent woman he had wedded, and her lot became a bitter one, indeed. Misfortune seems to have expelled her Muse, for we have no production of her pen bearing a later date than those in her volume published in 1773, except a poetical epistle to General Washington, in 1775, and a few scraps written about that time. Washington replied to her letter on the 28th of February, 1776. His letter was written at his headquarters, at Cambridge:

"Miss Phillis:—Your favor of the 26th of October, did not reach my hands till the middle of December. Time enough, you will say, to have given an answer, ere this. *Granted.* But a variety of important occurrences, continually interposing to distract the mind and withdraw the attention, I hope will apologize for the delay, and plead my excuse for the seeming, but not real neglect. I thank you most sincerely for your polite notice of me, in the elegant lines you enclosed, and however undeserving I may be of such encomium and panegyric, the style and manner exhibit a striking proof of your poetical talents; in honor of which, as a tribute justly due to you, I would have published the poem, had I not been apprehensive that, while I only meant to give the world this new instance of your genius, I might have incurred the imputation of vanity. This, and nothing else, determined me not to give it a place in the public prints. If you should ever come to Cambridge, or near headquarters, I shall be happy to see a person so favored by the Muses, and to whom nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations.

"I am, with great respect, your obedient, humble servant,

"GEO. WASHINGTON."

A few years of misery shattered the golden bowl of her life, and in a wretched apartment, in an obscure part of Boston, that gifted wife and mother, whose youth had been passed in ease, and even luxury, was allowed to perish, alone! She died on the 5th of December, 1794, when she was about forty-one years of age.

The following is an extract from one of her poems previously referred to:

> "'Twas mercy brought me from my pagan land,
> Taught my benighted soul to understand
> That there's a God—that there's a Saviour too;
> Once I redemption neither sought nor knew."

Among other noticeable features in this touching story, we find that the great George Washington—"First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen"—did not hesitate to speak in the highest terms of the genius of this gifted colored woman, nor to pay her an honor which might well be coveted by the greatest intellects of our land to day.

Among the illustrious names of the Colored Race in more recent times, the colored Congressmen, Mr. Bruce and Mr. Revels in the Senate, and Mr. Rapier, Mr. Lynch and Mr. Rainey in the House of Representatives, brought credit to their own names, and honor to their race, by their wisdom and ability as representatives of their people.

When the question was under discussion in regard to the admission of colored people to the rights of citizensihp, as an unanswerable argument by the opposition, the question was frequently raised: "Do you want to see them in Congress!" It was replied, that their right to sit in Congress was not dependent upon the feelings or desires of other States or districts, but was a matter to be left entirely to the judgment of that State or district which should in a fair election decide to send them there. Hon. James G. Blaine, in his celebrated work, "Twenty Years in Congress," says: "The colored man freed from slavery, attained the right of suffrage, and in due season was sent to Congress. Did harm result from it? Nay, was it not the needed demonstration of the freedom and justice of a Republican Government? If it be viewed simply as an experi-

ment, it was triumphantly successful. The colored men who took seats in both Senate and House, did not appear ignorant or helpless. They were, as a rule, earnest, ambitious men, whose public conduct, as illustrated by Mr. Revels and Mr. Bruce in the Senate, and by Mr. Rapier, Mr. Lynch and Mr. Rainey* in the House, would be honorable to any race. Coals of fire were heaped on the heads of their enemies when the colored men in Congress heartily joined in removing the disabilities of those who had been their oppressors."

Edward W. Blyden, L. L. D., a full blooded Negro, President of the Liberia College, and Minister from the Republic of Liberia to the Court of St. James, has been called "one of the ripest scholars of the age."

Moses A. Hopkins, Principal of Albion State Normal School, Franklinton, North Carolina, a colored man of great ability, was appointed by President Cleveland, United States Minister to Liberia.

And thus we might multiply instances of those colored people who have arisen above their surroundings, and, especially of late, taking advantage of the new era of opportunity open to them, have given to the world no feeble expression of the culture of minds and richness of thought that are within the possibility of their attainment when "intelligence, the handmaid of liberty," loosens their shackles.

Under the best conditions it is an uphill road to knowledge, and many faint and cease their climbing. These are not allowed to keep even the vantage ground they have gained; but must step aside and make room for others who are pushing forward; for still forever,

*COLUMBIA, S. C., Aug. 3.—Joseph H. Rainey, the well-known ex-Congressman of South Carolina, died at his residence in Georgetown, on Monday night, of congestive fever, after an illness of five days. He leaves a widow and four children.

Mr. Rainey was one of the most intelligent representatives of the Colored Race in the South. He was a barber by trade, when soon after the War he entered politics. He was elected to Congress in 1870, and again in 1872, but was defeated in 1874 by John S. Richardson. He was a conservative citizen, and a man of quiet and dignified manners and prepossessing appearance. Though the period during which he served in Congress was one of extraordinary corruption in public affairs in the State, no reproach has ever attached to his character or conduct in political or other matters.

"Some grand leader will be there
Pushing upward to the summit—
Pushing upward toward clear air;
You may stay in lower darkness,
Clasping close your clanking chain;
Some one yet will strike it from you,
Making free the heart and brain!"

The recent Commencements at the various colored Colleges have shown in an interesting manner, how many there are who have their eyes fixed upon the heights, and their feet pressing hard upon the path which leads to them. The addresses, orations, and essays, reveal many sprightly lines of thought as well as depth of research and loftiness of purpose. The graduates have now gone out into the world, many of them to answer the urgent call for teachers, and thus to bear to others the inspiration of their own ennobled thoughts and aims. Some have sought other callings, but all have gone forth bearing precious seed, and upon their wise and judicious "sowing," will the harvest to their race largely depend. "Doubtless many will come again rejoicing, bringing their sheaves with them."

As a race the colored people are religious. They perhaps surpass every other race in this respect. Their religion is their most striking, important, and formative characteristic. It is a reality to them. It has done more to correct those evil tendencies entailed upon them by a life of ignorance and bondage, and to instill morality and purity into their lives than has any other influence. As yet the evil is not all eradicated—much yet remains to be done, but Christianity must continue to be the most effective and important element in accomplishing their complete elevation.

The object of their strongest love and enthusiasm is the Church. To engage in worship and keep its sacraments they hold as their highest privilege as well as duty. One can but be impressed with the power of their church organizations. They have a hold upon the people. Colored people have been known to walk many miles to attend one of their meetings. They are possessed of not only an individual, but a congregational enthusiasm, which is a strong inspiration to any pastor.

Their Church is the centre of their social as well as religious life. To all races of Christians, their church ties and associations are no less endearing than those of the home. We might say this is especially true of the colored people. It is a well known fact that after days of tiresome labor they will go night after night and long into the night, to their protracted meetings, keeping them up for weeks, with unremitting zeal.

During slave time many of them were earnest Christians, some having the brightest experience, and being a power for good not only to their own people, but a blessing to their master's family. Many now living can bear testimony to the reality of their Christianity. In the storm and stress of war, in the troubled days which followed, in their lives as citizens, and in their lack of malice or revenge, we see the influence of that faith which has been their strongest incentive and our most perfect safe-guard.

In the days of slavery they had their colored preachers also, and it has been erroneously said that they averaged better than to-day. The nearer Nature's own teaching a race are, the more untrammelled is thought, the more ardent their religious nature. Yet, while there is danger incidental to education, it is not remedied by abridging it, but by enlarging and bettering it. There is no cure for the evils attending education, except by *more* education. If a young preacher is vainly ambitious and inclined to abuse his power, educate other and better ones. They will either reform him, or effectually prevent him doing any evil.

With few exceptions, the colored preachers before, during, and after the war, were a great blessing to the South, keeping on the side of law and order, and encouraging in their people that marvelous patience and fidelity which has gained the wonder and admiration of all. The pastors have great influence with their people. The pulpit has been the great educator among the colored people. From it they have received their best instructions, and purest teachings. Multiplied thousands are preaching. The number in the South is almost incredible. Some are thoroughly trained, eloquent, and doing a vast amount

of good. As yet the majority are simply exhorters, but the Colleges are fitting them for more thorough work. They have a great passion for public speaking, and considerable native talent. Some preach with great ability. They transact the business of the Church, write reports, make speeches, and preach sermons that would be a credit to any people. They prefer their own organizations separate from the white people. When united together, as was the case after the war, everything was done to make them forget their difference of color, even to a careful wording of their reports and church books. As soon as they have a sufficient number to start a Church for themselves they everywhere drifted apart, and into a distinct Church of their own. This feeling was so strong that they even refused in one instance, a white man, who applied for admittance into their organization. They prefer their own officers and Church government, and the Methodist Church has finally secured its own Bishops, who are educated and competent for the high office they fill. Nine-tenths of the colored church members are Methodists, and Baptists. All have followed this instinct for race separation as soon as they had sufficient numbers to organize themselves into a Church.

No Church has as great a hold upon the money question—unless we except the Roman Catholics. They give more in proportion to their numbers to church work than white members do, and many instances have been known where they have aided their white brothers in their work.

They show their interest in education by their efforts to help themselves. Every colored Church in the South is committed to the cause of education, and is building with great wisdom and liberality, Schools of their own. They are trained to systematic giving. They make regular assessments on their members for education, and a larger proportion of members give to this cause, than in the white churches. If the collection be large or small, nearly all are represented in it.

Wherever the school is created, the general tone of society is changed. The spirit of improvement affects the parent as

well as children. It is manifested in cleanliness, dress, manners and morals.

Christian education, develops the heart as well as intellect, promotes morality, while it gives training in the sciences, and is a stimulus for the attainment of a noble character. Nothing else can free the Colored Race from the disabilities of the past, or counteract the dangers of the present, or form their hope for the future. The schools educate men for the ministry, who in turn labor among the people for the promotion of their highest development. Working together they purify and build up the best interest of the Nation.

> "Nor heeds the skeptic's puny hands,
> While near her school the church-spire stands:
> Nor fears the blinded bigot's rule,
> While near the church-spire stands the school."

Missionary societies exist in the colored schools, and Africa is the Continent toward which all are looking. These institutions are the great hope of Africa's evangelization by her children in America. Only when one takes this Continent into consideration, can we understand God's dealing with this people in bringing them from Africa's dark shores, preserving them a distinct race, multiplying them so rapidly, giving them, in the close contact with the white people which slavery brought about, a moral and Christian training, and civilizing influences which could not have been accomplished if they had been turned loose upon their arrival here, to struggle and gain a foothold for themselves.

Finally, their glorious emancipation, and wonderful provisions made for their advancement and education, by those who owed them a debt for their bondage, all points to an All Wise plan for Christianizing the dark Continent. Some hearts are already burning with zeal at the thought of their brethren in Africa, and with a desire to help them. Some have already gone from the Universities to Africa, and some will go as soon as they complete their present course of study. In nearly all schools there is a Biblical department. The Theological Schools acknowledge their interest in Africa, as well as a preparation for ministry here, to be a part of their motive for work. Who

can read or think upon their history without feeling that in Africa's redemption shall this long wondered at Providence of God be understood? In educating any race, help must come through their own ranks. All permanent prosperity among the colored people must come from those having an identity of interest and destiny.

In speaking on this subject Dr. Haygood says: "He who can not see God's hand in it all, in their arriving in this country, in their slavery, in their Emancipation, cannot understand the history of the children of Israel in Egypt, or any other history. I do not mean, recognize God's Providence in all things; a Providence masterful, comprehensive, over-ruling, all-wise and good." If we compare the condition of the colored people in America to-day with that of the race in Africa, as we now find them, we cannot but think that these years of bondage, of toil and grief,—if necessary to the result obtained, have been a blessing,—instead of a curse. We must acknowledge that:

> "God moves in a mysterious way,
> His wonders to perform."

"His ways are true and righteous altogether." A morning star of Hope for the millions in Africa who have yet learned nothing of Christianity, nor taken the first lessons of civilization, shines over the lowly cabins of their brothers in America.

We desire here to call our reader's attention to slavery in Brazil. Says a writer: "When a Nation undertakes to free its slaves by the gradual process of allowing so many to go free every year, it is evident that the public conscience is not alive to the crime of slavery. In Brazil the Government has been trying to emancipate its slaves. Only 15,000 are liberated every year, and there are in Brazil, 1,330,000 slaves. Under this slow process death will be the only liberation that can come to thousands. It seems an outrage on civilization to see so many human shackles and to know that they are breaking so deliberately and slowly."

Upon which ex-Governor Eskridge of Kansas, says:

"The comment of the writer is well put, and calls attention

to a fact that has received but little notice in this country—that the barbarism of human slavery is permitted to exist in this age of advanced civilization and in a country so near to the United States as to be regarded as its near neighbor. Despite the occasional legal enactments and the constant agitation toward the abolition of slavery in Brazil, the monstrous institution is maintained in that irresolute Monarchy with incredible barbarity and heinous cruelty. It would seem from the records that the slave-owners, immeasurably more brutal and fiendish than their North American prototypes, are inspired with the devilish desire to crowd into the period between now and the culmination of the Emancipation Act every species of torture that will serve as a protest against freedom.

"A Brazilian newspaper some time ago gave a series of sketches which depicted the horrors Brazilian slaves have to endure, how they are whipped to death with lashes bathed in vinegar and sand, how they have been thrust alive into incandescent furnaces or plunged into caldrons of boiling water, and beaten until they are incurably disfigured and deformed. These sketches were declared to be based on actual occurrences in every instance, and yet fell short of the cruelties practiced upon the unfortunate human creatures held as slaves under the laws of the Government.

"As the American people are the chief customers of Brazil, and as the ignominy of slavery was drenched from this country by the blood of freemen, there is especial reason why the people of the United States should look with horror upon the perpetuation of this crime in Brazil. The Government of Brazil, under the urgent influence of its humane Emperor, Dom Pedro, has in various, though impotent ways, endeavored to wrestle with this stupendous iniquity without offending the slave-owning and least numerous though most indolent class. The result has been a series of time laws, so-called Emancipation Acts, by the operation of which it is possible that at the end of fifty years the institution of slavery may be blotted out.

"Not only the slow process but the practical inefficiency of

the laws which have been enacted in this direction is made disgracefully manifest by the fact that in the free province of Ceara, where the formal liberation of every slave was celebrated two years ago, slaves are now owned and subjected to all the abuses practiced in undisturbed slave provinces. How much real force there is in the Emancipatory Law of Brazil may be determined from the fact that in 1873, when the movement was inaugurated, there were 1,533,000 registered slaves in Brazil, and now, as the writer gives it, there are 1,330,000, an actual decrease of only 203,000 in fourteen years, including 162,000 deaths, the legal manumissions being only 41,000. The rapid extinction of the institution is not desired by the Government, and at the present rate of progress it will take something like fifty years to eradicate it.

"The only hope for relief to the million and a half of outraged humanity rests upon the possibility of stirring up a lethargic public to an appreciation of the degrading crime against nature which makes Brazil odious to the civilization it affects to respect and cultivate. The sincerity and trustworthiness of the Brazilian people are rapidly coming into discredit through the juggling of its Chief Representatives with this question of earnest humanity."

Right here lies a duty that our colored citizens of the United States owe to their brothers in Brazil. Can it be possible they have so soon forgotten that their own people were recently slaves in this country? Will they rest with folded hands, satisfied with their own liberation from this debasing and cruel system, while their people are suffering untold miseries in Brazil? Have they forgotten the half million lives that were sacrificed here that they might be free? If not, why is not some movement inaugurated by our representative colored citizens to abolish slavery in Brazil? Their influence is great, and if rightly prosecuted will inaugurate a movement that in the near future will obliterate this disgrace, not only in Brazil, but in every country where it exists on the face of the earth. It is *your* affair, my Brother in Black, and for the sake of common humanity, which "makes the whole world kin," agi-

tate the question of slavery in Brazil until not a vestige of this debasing system is left.

Neither should we be blinded by the dogma of "gradual emancipation." We remember that by an Act of our Congress the Foreign Slave Trade was to be abolished in the year 1808 —was it so abolished? Nay! On the contrary, it was revived and became a more flourishing business than ever before. Neither is gradual emancipation a success in Brazil, as Mr. Eskridge has clearly shown. Slavery will never cease in Brazil until the Government is compelled to act and immediate emancipation proclaimed by Proclamation, or Imperial Decree. The evil of slavery is of such a nature that it takes "might to make right." Brazil is not such a powerful Nation that we need to quail and cower before her, or be turned from our duty by promises of future emancipation. If the thing is evil within itself, why should it be permitted to endure fifty years or even a day longer? Let such men as ex-Governor Pinchback, Frederick Douglass, Mr. Smalls, Bruce, Turner, and a host of others, agitate this question of humanity, and we will soon see the last vestige of this inhuman traffic, this degrading of man, made in the image of God, swept from the face of the earth.

CHAPTER XXX.

CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS.

"O, Law, fair form of liberty,
God's light is on thy brow,
O, Liberty, thou soul of law,
God's very self art thou.
O, daughter of the bleeding past,
O, Hope the Prophet saw;
God give us law in liberty,
And liberty in law."

GOVERNMENT:—

The necessity of government is furnished in man's social and moral nature. As a reasonable and dependent being, he is fitted for society and law. Law is a rule of action. Government is the embodiment of the defender, and the enforcer of the law.

RIGHTS:—

A right is either a just claim or a just and lawful claim.

Rights are political and civil.

Political rights are those which belong to the citizen in his relation to the government.

Civil rights are those which are not political, and which are often termed natural and inalienable.

First.—They include

Absolute rights, and

Second.—Relative rights.

First.—Absolute civil rights are those which man possesses as an individual, in his relation as a member of society, to other members of society.

Two classes of these are often termed personal rights, or the rights of persons.

They embrace:—

First.—The rights of personal security,—the right from injury to life, body. health, reputation.

Second.—The rights of personal liberty,—the right to go where one chooses.

The other two classes of absolute rights, are:

First.—The right of private property,—the right to acquire property and enjoy it without molestation.

Second.—Religious rights,—the rights of men to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

Second.—Relative Civil rights are those which man possesses in a relation to particular persons or classes;—these are either public or private.

Public Civil rights are those man possesses in his relations to the government (except the right to participate in it). It includes the right of the government and its officers, to our respect and obedience.

Private Civil rights embrace those in relation of:

First.—Husband and wife.

Second.—Parent and child.

Third.—Guardian and ward.

Fourth.—Employer and employed.

LIBERTY:—

Liberty is the freedom man possesses to enjoy his rights. It embraces:

First.—Natural Liberty.

Second.—Political Liberty.

Third.—Civil Liberty.

Fourth.—Religious Liberty.

LAW:—

The object of law is to defend and secure man in the enjoyment of his right.

It embraces:

First.—Political Law.

Second.—Civil and Municipal Law.

The moral law prescribes man's duties to his fellowman and to God. It is contained in the Ten Commandments, to love God with all our hearts, and our neighbor (nothing said about color), as ourselves. It is broader and more comprehensive than political or civil law.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE:—

The leading principles of the Declaration of Independence are these: That all men are created equal; that all have a natural right to liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that human governments are instituted for the sole purpose of securing the welfare of the people; that the people have a natural right to alter their government whenever it becomes destructive of liberty; that the despotism of the King and his Ministers, could be shown by a long list of undisputed proofs, and the proofs are given; that time and again the Colonies had humbly petitioned for a redress of grievances; that all their petitions had been spurned with derision and contempt; that the King's irrational tyranny over his American subjects was no longer endurable; that an appeal to the sword is preferable to slavery; and that, therefore, the United Colonies of America are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States. To the support of this sublime declaration of principles, the members of the Continental Congress mutually pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Having in the preceding pages traced the History of the Colored Race from the earliest period to the present time, noting the rise, progress and decline of the Slave Power on this Continent to its final overthrow in the United States by the great Civil War and also the improvement and advancement made by those people, in knowledge and self-government, since then, under the blessings of liberty, it remains for us now to examine that system of Government by which those liberties are preserved and to learn of those institutions and safe guards, under which we live.

Slavery in the United States, it may be said, received its death blow from the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, January 1, 1863. Yet this is only in a measure true. That justly celebrated instrument was but the prelude to what must follow. Like the Declaration of Independence, it was but the manifestation of the public will—the *vox populi*, of that

period, effective only in so far as that sentiment remained, liable however to fluctuate and change at each revolution of the wheel of fortune. Thus one administration could proclaim freedom while the succeeding might declare in favor of slavery. Statesmen therefore saw that to retain the precious boon of freedom, it must be securely anchored beyond the reach of the adverse winds of political fortune. This led to the adoption, December 18, 1863, July 28, 1868, and March 30, 1870, of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, whereby the question of human slavery was finally and forever put at rest in this country, and both civil and political liberty secured to the colored citizen by constitutional guaranty part of the fundamental and supreme law of the land, thereby placing at the same time in his hands the means with which to defend them. From the very nature of the case it becomes a most important matter, if not an imperative duty that we understand something of the functions of that Government under which we live and of our rights under that instrument upon which its foundations rest.

From the nature of the Federal compact which unites the several States of the Union under one National Government, each State retains to a certain extent its independent, individual sovereignty, termed the reserved rights of the States—those rights enjoyed by the States prior to, and not surrendered upon entering into the Union. The citizens of each State are therefore at the same time subject to the authority of two distinct governments, administered by two separate classes of agents: The Legislative or law making power; The Executive, or law enforcing power; The judicial or law interpreting power. In the General Government, the first is vested in a Congress, which consists of a Senate and House of Representatives. The second in a President of the United States, and the third in the Federal courts of law.

Each State has also its separate Government, called its Legislature, which convenes at the Capitals of the respective States.

The Capital of the United States is located at the city of Washington in the District of Columbia. It was established in that city in 1800. The spot was selected by General Washington. Prior to that time the seat of Government had been temporarily established at Philadelphia, Baltimore, Lancaster and several other places.

On account of the frequent changes the public suffered great inconvenience. The District of Columbia was a tract of land ten miles square, ceded to the General Government partly by the State of Maryland and partly by the State of Virginia. That part of it ceded by Virginia was re-ceded to that State in 1846, so as the District now stands it is confined entirely to the Maryland side of the Potomac River.

The three branches of the General Government are located at the city of Washington. The President resides here during the term for which he is elected. He lives in a mansion known as the White House, built for that purpose at the expense of the Nation. Here he exercises the duties of his office during the period of his Administration. In another part of the city is an immense building covering several acres of ground called the Capitol of the Nation, erected at a cost of some twelve millions of dollars. In this magnificent edifice, are numerous rooms and offices for the convenience of the government. But by far the largest is that which is known as the House of Representatives. In still another part of this immense edifice is a much smaller chamber. This is occupied by the Senators, and in another part of the Capitol is the Supreme Court room.

In this room the Judges of the Supreme Court sit during the sessions of that court.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

It has been seen that the Legislative branch of our Government, called Congress, is separated into two departments: The Senate and House of Representatives.

The assembly that occupies the House of Representatives during the session of Congress, are called Representatives.

The are elected by the direct vote of the people of their respective Congressional districts in the several States. They are chosen to assist in making the laws, and no bill can become a law until it has received the sanction of a majority of this body. By the theory of our Government, all the people of the several States are supposed to be present in this assembly, in the person of their respective Representatives. When all the Representatives are present, they number about three hundred. The members are called Representatives, because they are supposed to represent the views and wishes of the people who elect them. They act, speak and vote as the agents of the people, who are called their constituency.

No person can be a Representative who has not attained the age of twenty-five years, either born or naturalized a citizen of the United States, and an inhabitant of that State from which he is chosen. The ratio of representation is fixed in proportion to population, counting the whole number of persons in each State, except Indians who are not taxed.

This proportion is ascertained by the census, the object of which is to equalize representation in the House of Representatives in proportion to the population of all the States. But each State is entitled to at least one Representative, and each organized Territory is allowed one delegate, who may speak, but not vote, on any question.

The Constitution requires that the census be taken every ten years. The first census was taken in 1790, and it has been taken every ten years since then, during the first year of every regular decade. The Department of the Interior has charge of this matter. Each State is divided into small districts, numbering not to exceed twenty thousand inhabitants. The officer having charge of the matter must visit each dwelling house and family in his district, and ascertain the number of each, noting their ages, sex, color, ability to read and write, facts relating to agriculture, manufactories, commerce, resources of the country and its products, and in fact, everything that may be necessary to give a general view of the condition of the United States.

Members of the House of Representatives are elected in the several States by Congressional districts. When it has been ascertained how many members each State is entitled to, the Legislatures of the several States divide them respectively into as many districts as they are entitled to members. These Congressional districts are numbered, 1st, 2d, 3d, etc.

Unprincipled politicians have sometimes taken advantage of the law in this respect, classifying the people according to their political views. This is what is called "Gerrymandering."

Representatives shall be chosen every second year, and the term of office commences the fourth day of March next after the election and continues two years.

By a law of Congress, taking effect in 1876, the time fixed for the election of Representatives was made uniform throughout the United States. By this law the election in all the States and Territories must be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of each year of the election. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies. The writ of election is directed to the proper officer of the Congressional district in which the vacancy occurs. The writ commands that the election shall be held at a time therein named, and it is the duty of the officer to whom it is directed to give notice thereof.

The election held in pursuance of this writ is called a special election. The Representative elected to fill the vacancy serves only the unexpired portion of the term for which his predecessor was elected. Vacancies can only happen by death, resignation, or expulsion of the incumbent from his seat in the House.

We have a new house of Representatives every alternate year, always commencing with the years of odd numbers, and Congress is numbered by the number of times we have a new House of Representatives. Thus we speak of the Forty-ninth or Fiftieth Congress, the number always corresponding to the number of times the House has been organized. The House

and Senate are equal in general legislation, but each has other and separate powers which are clearly defined by the Constitution.

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives. This power rests exclusively with the House, this body being the more immediate representatives of the people. The House also has the sole power of presenting articles of impeachment against any of the officers of the Government for offenses committed against it. Articles of impeachment are somewhat in the nature of an indictment, being sufficient to put the accused upon trial before the bar of the Senate, but they are only *prima facie* evidence of guilt. The House shall choose their own officers. The Speaker is chosen from among their number, and is the presiding officer of the assembly. They also choose their other officers. The Clerk, Sergeant-at-arms, Post Master, and Door-keeper, who are not members.

When the Electors of President and Vice President fail to elect those officers by a majority of all the Electors appointed by the people the House shall by ballot elect the President from the persons having the highest number not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President. In this election the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote. If the House shall not elect a President before the fourth day of March ensuing, the Vice President shall act as President as in case of death or inability. There have been two such elections: That of Thomas Jefferson in 1801, and that of John Q. Adams in 1825.

THE SENATE.

We have already seen that the other branch of the Legislative department of our Government is called the Senate, and the members of which it is composed are called Senators. They are so called from their age and supposed long experience in Legislative matters.

The Senate of the United States is composed of two Senators from each State. While in the House the number of Representatives for each State is proportioned to the popula-

tion thereof, and consequently enjoy political power in that proportion, no such distinction exists in the Senate. There all the States are equal. This is a Constitutional provision as will appear from the closing language of Article V, which is: "No State without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

This formation of the Senate is the result of compromise between the larger and smaller States, which were represented in the Constitutional Convention. The representative power in Congress under the Confederation was the same in all the States—the large and small States, having alike but one vote. In the Constitutional Convention the small States were not willing to relinquish any of their power. The large States therefore consented to equality in the Senate and the small States to representation in the House in proportion to population. There are two Senators from each State regardless of its size, and consequently, when the States are all represented, there are seventy-six members, as at present we have thirty-eight States, and each Senator has one vote. A Senator must have attained the age of thirty-five years and be by birth or naturalization a citizen of the United States and subject to its jurisdiction, and an inhabitant of the State he represents when chosen, and if a citizen by naturalization, have nine years of such citizenship. The official term of a Senator is six years, and Senators are elected by the Legislatures of their respective States by *viva voce* vote of each member, on the second Tuesday after the meeting and organization thereof. If a vacancy exists at a meeting of the Legislature it is filled in the same manner. When vacancies happen during the session of the Legislature similar proceedings shall be had, beginning with the second Tuesday after notice of such vacancy shall have been received. When vacancies happen during the recess of the Legislature of a State the Executive authority is empowered to make a temporary appointment, until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancy.

The Vice-President of the United States is by virtue of his office President of the Senate. He performs the ordinary

duties devolving upon a presiding officer, except that not being a member of the Senate he has no authority to appoint standing committees. In case of death, resignation, removal or inability to discharge the duties of office by the President, the Vice-President becomes President. The Senate, in the absence of the Vice-President, is required to appoint a President *pro tempore* of the Senate who is a member of that body.

The Senate has the sole power to try all impeachments, and when the President is tried the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States shall be the presiding officer of the body, as in such case the Vice-President would be so directly interested in the removal of the President as to render it highly improper for him to preside.

Although the Constitution provides that all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House, yet the Senate when they are reached may treat them in all respects as though they originated there. They can propose amendments, concur therewith, or reject them, if proposed by the House at any stage of the proceedings, or they can reject the bills entirely. The Senate has power of ratifying treaties, which power is called Executive, because in such cases the Senate acts upon the suggestions of the President. In the transaction of business the session is called Executive. They sit with doors closed and their proceedings are generally secret.

By and with the advice and consent of the Senate the President appoints Ambassadors, Consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all officers of the United States whose appointments are not otherwise provided for by the Constitution and established by law. The act of ratifying the Executive appointments is commonly called confirming the nominations of the President.

Treaties are usually agreed upon either by public Ministers or Ambassadors, or by Commissioners appointed by their respective Governments for the purpose of arranging the details. Treaties are discussed by the Senate in secret session. They may ratify or reject a treaty, or ratify in part or reject in part, or make additions. Every part of a treaty, to be valid,

must be ratified by a vote of two-thirds of the Senators present. When amendments or alterations of the treaties have been made by the Senate the whole document must be re-submitted to the President and also to the Representatives of the Government with whom the negotiations are pending.

The Senate has the power to elect its officers, except the President, who, as we have already seen, holds his position as President of the Senate by virtue of being Vice-President of the United States. But in the absence of the Vice-President they can choose a President *pro tempore.*

The other officers of the Senate, are a Secretary, who has charge of the records and papers, and reads such as may be called for by the members; a Postmaster and Doorkeeper, who are not members of the Senate. In case the Electors fail to elect a Vice-President, the Senate then elects one. One such election has occurred in the history of our Government—that of Richard M. Johnson, in 1837.

As we have seen, the Senate has the sole power to try all impeachments. When thus acting, they sit as a Court, and from their decision there is no appeal, nor can the President of the United States in such case exercise the pardoning power. But no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment, in case of impeachment, shall extend no further than removal from office, and disqualification to hold or enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable to prosecution according to law.

PROVISIONS COMMON TO HOUSE AND SENATE.

Beside these separate powers of the House and Senate mentioned in the preceding pages, there are other provisions common to both, which we now proceed to discuss.

The Constitution provides: "Each House shall be the judge of the election returns, and qualifications of its own members." It is necessary that these powers should be vested in the House where the membership is claimed. This is es-

sential, to determine the legality and regularity of the election, which can be ascertained only through an inquiry into the returns, which open the whole subject for investigation, and it may even become necessary to go behind the returns and investigate the legality of the election itself. This power of determining the right of membership, belongs not only to each House of Congress, but like authority is conceded to the Legislative bodies of all the States, and to those of all civilized Governments.

OFFICIAL INELIGIBILITY.

I. No person who holds any office under the United States, can be a member of either House. This is a Constitutional provision, the object of which was to guard against the Government obtaining too great an influence in the National Councils. Therefore, a Federal officer must resign his office before he can occupy such position.

II. By the third clause of Article XIV. of the Constitutional Amendment, it is provided, That no person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or an Elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, Civil or Military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an Executive or Judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in any insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof.

But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

The object of this clause of the Amendment, was to prevent those Federal and State officers, who, having taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, afterwards, engaged in the Secession movement, from holding office under the United States, or under any State. It was thought, at the time of the adoption of this Amendment, highly fit that all such persons should incur some political disability, as resulting from the violation of their official oath.

QUORUM.

III. Neither House can do business without a majority of all its members. This is a Constitutional provision, its object being to prevent hasty legislation without the assent of a majority of each House. The number necessary to do business, is called a quorum; and although it requires a majority of the members of either House to constitute a quorum, a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may impose penalties for failures to attend.

RULES OF EACH HOUSE.

IV. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings. The right is inherent in every deliberative assembly to adopt such preliminary rules as it chooses for the transaction of business, so long as these rules do not violate the organic law from which the assembly receives its authority. Without this right it would be impossible for such bodies to transact business.

MANNER OF VOTING.

V. The usual manner of taking a vote in deliberative bodies, is as follows;

The question about to be voted upon, being stated by the presiding officer, he puts it affirmatively thus: "As many as are in favor of the proposition, say Aye."

At which all those voting affirmatively will respond, "Aye."

The presiding officer then puts the question negatively, thus: "Those opposing, say No."

At which those voting in the negative, respond "No."

The presiding officer is usually able to determine the vote from the sound, but, if not, he repeats the trial as before; if he is still in doubt, or at the request of a member, the House may be divided. Those voting affirmatively, taking one side, and those voting negatively, the other, when the count is made by the Secretary, upon which the decision is announced.

There is still another method recognized by the rules and usages of deliberative assemblies. The presiding officer having stated the question to be voted, says: "As many as are in

favor of the question, will, when their names are called, answer Yea, and as many as are opposed, will, when their names are called, answer No."

The names are then called by the Secretary in alphabetical order, and at the call of each member's name, he rises and answers Yea, or Nay, according as he is inclined to vote.

After being read, the votes are recorded by the Secretary on the journal, which then shows which way each member voted. The journal can then be inspected at any time by any person to ascertain the way any member may have voted. Members sometimes absent themselves to avoid responsibility in voting.

The journal shall, from time to time, be published also, excepting such portions as each House deems proper to suppress. In this way the doings of the assembly are brought before the public, and the actions of each member are subject to inspection and criticism.

In times of war or public commotion, it might be advisable to keep the proceedings of the assembly a secret, and this power is granted by the Constitution.

HOUSE MAY PUNISH MEMBERS.

VI. Each House my punish its members for disorderly conduct, and with a concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

The power of punishment and expulsion for disorderly conduct is usually given to all deliberative assemblies. Without this authority it might at times be impossible to transact business. In times of excitement members often become tumultuous and this authority is necessary for the preservation of decorum in the assembly. To exercise these powers requires a strong showing and actual necessity, but it can be exercised as to the conduct of a member either within or without the assembly.

ADJOURNMENT.

VII. Neither House during the session of Congress shall without the consent of the other adjourn for more than three days, nor to any place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

This is a wise limitation placed upon each House by the Constitution, otherwise either House might adjourn and interrupt the progress of business entirely, but an adjournment for the short period of three days could not have this effect, hence each House has this privilege, but they cannot adjourn to any other place. This last prohibition is designed to prevent mischief by one House adjourning to a different place and compelling the other to follow, which would be very embarrassing to legislation and would work great inconvenience and obstruct business entirely.

By Constitutional provision Congress cannot extend beyond two years, but it may be adjourned at any time by consent of the two Houses or at the pleasure of the President when both Houses cannot agree as to the time of adjournment.

WHEN MEMBERS CANNOT BE APPOINTED TO OFFICE

VIII. The Constitution provides—That no Senator or Representative shall during the time for which he was elected be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created or the emoluments thereof shall have been increased during such time.

The object of this provision of the Constitution is to prohibit members of Congress from assisting in creating offices and then resigning their seats in Congress and occupying the office upon appointment thereto by the President. Were it not for this Constitutional provision great abuses might creep into legislation. Members might assist in creating offices with large salaries and by preconcerted arrangement with the Executive receive appointments thereto, or salaries and offices might be created for all the officers at pleasure.

OFFICIAL OATH.

IX. Senators and Representatives are required to make oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of the United States and to faithfully discharge the duties of office. The oath is usually administered by the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House. The oath binds them to a faithful dis-

charge of duty and reminds them of the solemn obligation they are about to perform and is binding upon the conscience of all candid men. All must take the oath except those conscientiously opposed, who may affirm under the pains and penalties of perjury, to faithfully discharge the duties devolving upon them.

The legal effect of an oath or affirmation is the same.

SALARIES OF MEMBERS.

X. The salaries of Members of Congress is to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. But there is no provision in the Constitution as to what the salary may be. The members make the law on the subject to suit themselves. The salaries have been differently fixed from time to time.

At present the salary of a member of either House is $5,000.00 per annum. The President of the Senate gets $8,000.00 per annum, and the Speaker of the House the same.

WHEN MEMBERS NOT LIABLE TO ARREST.

XI. Members of Congress in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, are privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective House, and in going to and returning from the same, and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

The privilege from arrest is accorded members of all legislative bodies. Were it not for this privilege members might be arrested and detained beyond the session in their respective States at the instance of private creditors and the business of legislation might be seriously interrupted and impeded. This immunity from arrest is necessary in order to sustain the personal independence of the members. The exemption of members from answering for any speech or debate in the assembly is also a beneficial provision of the Constiution. It is necessary that full liberty of speech should be accorded to legislators, and that they be allowed full liberty to express

their sentiments at all times on such matters as may come before them, without having to answer in actions therefor. This provision exempts members from suits or actions at law for anything said in the course of any speech or debate in either House, no matter how much they may slander private character. It is true this privilege may, and sometimes is abused, but public interest requires that unrestricted license of speech should be extended to all members, and the most critical examinations into the characters and qualifications of all persons should be permitted, and members should be allowed to perform these duties without the fear of being compelled to respond in action for damages.

FINANCIAL RESOURCES, ETC.

Under this division of our subject we propose to but cursorily mention the financial resources from which the country derives its revenues, such as taxes, duties on imports, excises, and other financial resources.

By the Constitution, Congress has authority to levy and collect taxes, duties on imports, and excises, but has no authority to lay taxes on articles exported from any State. Taxes are defined as being the enforced proportional contribution of person and property levied by the authority of the State, for the support of the Government and for all public needs. The taxing power has no existence in a state of nature—but it is the creature of civil society. Without the power to collect taxes for governmental purposes no Government could perform its duties and sustain its credit. Taxes are of two kinds, direct and indirect. Direct taxes are those which are assessed upon the property, person, business, and income of those who are to pay them.

Indirect taxes are such as are levied on commodities before they reach the consumer, and are paid for by those upon whom they ultimately fall, by enhancing the price of the article, but is not so readily perceived as a direct tax. In the language of Turgot, it enables the Government "to pluck the goose without making it cry out."

Duties, imports and excises are of the nature of indirect taxes, and are under the exclusive control of Congress, except what may be necessary for executing inspection laws. Taxes are proportioned among the several States according to their representative population. The representative population is ascertained by the census, which is to be taken every ten years.

I. Another financial resource of the Government, is the power to borrow money on the credit of the United States. This authority has often been found of much importance, especially in time of war; in our recent Civil War we were compelled to borrow upwards of three thousand millions.

II. Another source of government finance may be mentioned—the United States Territory. This consists of unorganized tracts of land and the public lands of the United States. Congress has power to dispose of such lands, in parcels, to settlers, or in any other way for the public welfare.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS.

The commercial relations of our Government is another subject of Constitutional provision. The prosperity of the people depends largely upon the commercial interests of the country. This power, when vested in Congress, can be so exercised as to compel Foreign Governments to treat with us on terms advantageous to all. If this authority were allowed to the States individually, each might impose such restrictions and regulations, as would engender strife and sectional bitterness. Goods manufactured in New York or Massachusetts, could not be sold in Pennsylvania or Connecticut, or other States, without being fettered and burdened by State restrictions, which would materially cripple and hamper commercial intercourse.

INDIANS.

Congress has power to regulate traffic with the Indian tribes. Under the Confederation, Congress had but a limited power over this subject, and that only extended to tribes residing within State limits. It was learned, from experience, that this power should not be left with the States. The Gov-

ernment could better command the respect of the tribes and protect their rights.

COINAGE OF MONEY.

Congress is invested with the power to coin money. This power is exercised for the purpose of obtaining a proper circulation of genuine instead of base coin.

Money may be said to be the measure of value in commercial transactions.

Much advantage arises from placing this power in the hands of Congress. Were it left to the several States to issue their own money, its value would often be determined by local matters and State boundaries, which would impair commercial transactions and stifle business; but by being controlled by the Government, its uniformity of value is insured. Congress has also the power to regulate the value of foreign coin; but for this restriction, different States might fix different values to the same piece of foreign coin, which would greatly embarrass business and affect commercial exchange.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Congress has the power to fix the standard of weights and measures. It is desirable that weights and measures should be uniform, through all the States and Territories — that the pound, gallon and bushel should be the same in all.

But, as yet, no action has been taken on this subject by Congress, and there is not now an entire uniformity of these matters.

The standard of weights and measures remain the same now, as at the adoption of the Constitution.

BANKRUPTCY.

Congress has the authority to establish uniform laws on the subject of Bankruptcies, and, therefore, no State has the right to legislate on this subject. A Bankrupt is defined by legal writers to be one who has been adjudged, by competent authority, unable to pay his debts, or one who owes more than he is able to pay. Several objects may be attained by such a law. Creditors may obtain an apportionment of the property of the

debtor, whereby the Courts can grant a full discharge to the delinquent debtor, and he may become released from future liability. The distinction between a Bankrupt and an Insolvent law is, by the former, the debtor may obtain a full discharge from future liability, while in the latter case, the future property of the debtor may be taken in liquidation of the indebtedness. It appropriates the property but does not extinguish the debt. But as the Bankrupt law of the United States has been repealed, the question is now of but little importance, creditors having recourse to the insolvent laws of the several States.

COUNTERFEITING.

Congress is given the power, by the Constitution, to fix the punishment for counterfeiting the coins and securities of the United States.

Counterfeiting is making imitations of coin, bank bills, bonds or other securities of the United States, in resemblance so near to the originals, as to deceive a person of but ordinary experience. If Congress did not possess this power, the money and securities of the United States would, in a short time, become worthless, and the country filled with spurious mediums of exchange, and money would become valueless from our inability to detect the genuine from the false.

PIRACIES AND FELONIES ON THE HIGH SEAS.

Congress is invested with authority to define and provide the punishment of piracies and felonies that may be committed on the high seas. In pursuance of which authority Congress in 1820 passed an Act making the foreign slave trade piracy, and punishable with death. Prior to 1808, the foreign slav trade had been a legitimate subject of commerce.

Piracy is defined at common law to be the taking of prop erty from others by open violence, with intent to steal, and without lawful authority on the high seas.

Or those acts committed on sea, which, if committed on land, would amount to felony, and felony, at common law, is defined to be an offense which occasions a total forfeiture of

either lands or goods, or both, and to which capital or other punishment may be added, according to the degree of guilt. This would include such crimes as murder, arson, burglary, and, in fact, any crime that was punishable with death.

TREASON.

The Constitution defines Treason, but gives to Congress the power to prescribe the punishment.

As defined by the Constitution, Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. By Act of Congress, passed in 1790, the punishment of Treason was fixed at death, and by an Act subsequently passed in 1862, the penalty was death or imprisonment for not more than five years and a fine of ten thousand dollars, and the slaves of the party could be free. But since slavery was abolished, that clause relating thereto has no significance.

POSTOFFICES AND POSTAL ROADS.

Congress has the authority by virtue of the Constitution to establish postoffices and postal roads. This matter should necessarily be vested in the United States, inasmuch as uniformity is desirable, which could never be accomplished were it left entirely to the several States. The supervision of the postoffice department is under the Postmaster General. He has the authority to establish postoffices, appoint postmasters, and to let the contracts for carrying the mails.

Postmasters in the larger offices are mostly appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

PATENT AND COPY-RIGHTS.

Congress is given power by the Constitution "to promote the progress of science and the useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and inventions."

Patents are issued from the Patent Office at Washington, granting to inventors of new and useful inventions, machines, improvements, or manufacture or compounds of matter, the exclusive right to their manufacture and sale, for the term of twenty

years; and Letters patent are issued whereby the inventor is secured in his invention.

To obtain Letters patent, the inventor is required to make distinct specifications, and give a full and complete description of his invention, and where drawings and models can be furnished, such must be deposited with the Commissioner of Patents.

A copy-right is the exclusive right of an author to print, publish and sell his own literary work for his own benefit.

Any new and original plan, arrangement or combination of materials, entitles the author to a copy-right therein, whether the materials be new or old. The copy-right extends for the period of twenty-eight years, at the end of which, the author, or if dead, his living representatives, may obtain an extension of fourteen years more. The expense of procuring a copy-right is but small.

DECLARATION OF WAR.

Congress is vested with the power to declare war.

A declaration of war is a solemn protest announced by authority to all the world, and to the Nation involved, that hostilities are, or are about to be, commenced. In foreign countries this announcement is made by the Sovereign, but in this country, there being no Sovereign, the declaration is made by Congress, which is supposed to represent the voice of the entire people. After war has been declared peace can be secured only through the intervention of Ministers or Ambassadors, who represent the different Nations involved, and when the terms of peace have been agreed upon, they do not become effective until ratified by the President and the Senate of the United States, it requiring a two-thirds vote of the Senators present to conclude the treaty.

LETTERS OF MARQUE AND REPRISAL.

By the Constitution, Congress is vested with the authority to grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, which is a commission granted by the Government to private individuals, authorizing them to make reprisals at sea of the property of a foreign

State, or the citizens or subjects of such State, as a reparation for an injury committed by such State, its citizens or subjects. The word Marque signifies a license to pass the limits of a jurisdiction, or the boundary of a country for the purpose of making reprisals, while reprisal signifies the act of retaking or taking property from an enemy by way of retaliation or of indemnity. Without these Letters vessels engaged in such pursuits would be considered as pirates. Should vessels be captured sailing under Letters of Marque and Reprisal, those in charge of it are treated as prisoners of war, and are entitled to the protection of the Government, and if not so treated their Government would retaliate.

ARMY AND NAVY.

Congress has the power to raise and support Armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years. The army is raised by enlistments into the service of the United States for a term of five years. Various Acts have been passed regulating the subject, but it is not within the province of our work to set them forth.

Congress has power to provide and maintain a Navy. A well equiped Naval force is indispensable in time of war for the protection of the sea-board cities, and even in times of peace a Navy should be maintained in a country so situated as ours. The entire number of war vessels belonging to a country is called its Navy.

After our Civil War our Navy was permitted to dwindle into insignificance, but the last session of Congress adopted measures with a view to revive the Navy and make it what it should be among the maritime powers of the world.

NATURALIZATION.

Congress having the power under the Constitution has provided that any Alien having arrived in the United States after the age of eighteen years may be admitted to the rights of citizenship, after a declaration upon his part on oath or affirmation before any Court of competent authority two years at least before his admission that it is his *bona fide* intention

to become a citizen of the United States, and to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign Prince, Potentate, State, or Sovereignty whatsoever, and particularly by name that of which he is a subject, and if the Alien has borne any hereditary title or order of nobility, that too must be renounced.

The Alien must satisfy the Court by the oath of at least two citizens, that he has continuously resided within the United States five years at least, immediately preceding his naturalization, and also within the State or Territory wherein such Court is at the time held at least one year immediately previous to such naturalization, and that during such five years he has been of good moral character, attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States and well disposed toward the good order and happiness of the same. When admitted, the Alien must take an oath or affirm, that he will support the Constitution of the United States and renounce all allegiance to any foreign power.

The required declaration to become a citizen may be made at the end of two years residence in the United States, and in three years thereafter he may again appear in Court and take oath of allegiance, when the rights of citizenship will be secured.

If the Alien die after having filed his declaration of intentions to become a citizen and having taken the necessary oath or affirmation, his widow and children upon taking the necessary oath are entitled to the rights and privileges of citizens.

An Alien arriving in the United States under the age of eighteen years and who continues to reside therein may after the arriving at the age of twenty-one years, and having resided in the United States five years, including the three years of minority, be admitted a citizen without making any formal declaration. At the time of his admission, he must however make such declaration.

He must satisfy the Court also, that for three years immediately preceding, it has been his *bona fide* intention to become a citizen of the United States.

When an Alien is naturalized his children under twenty-one years of age, if residents of the United States at the time, become citizens also.

GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Since the formation of our Government we have acquired an immense territory: In 1803 we purchased from France the Louisiana Territory for fifteen million dollars. In 1819, from Spain, we purchased Florida.

In 1845 Texas was admitted into the Union.

In 1848 we received California from Mexico, and in 1867 we purchased Alaska from the Russian Government.

The Constitution gives Congress the power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property of the United States. Under this provision it becomes the duty of Congress to make such rules and regulations as shall be necessary for the Government of this vast territory, until sufficient population is acquired, which entitles it to admission into the Union as States.

New States may be admitted into the Union by conferred power of Congress.

We have at present outside of State limits sufficient territory to make thirty or forty States equal to the State of New York in area.

FAILURE TO ELECT SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES.

It is necessary that all the States should be represented in the National Councils, and it is the duty of each State to elect their Senators and Representatives, and no State should neglect it. Should any State neglect this important duty, however, the Government might become embarrassed and legislation obstructed. To provide for such contingency the Constitution therefore vests Congress with power over the entire subject, save as to the places of choosing Senators.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

Congress is vested with power to determine the time of choosing the Presidential Electors, and the day on which they

shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States. The Electors are chosen to meet on the second Monday in January next following their appointment; and the Electors shall give their votes the first Wednesday in December, after their election at their respective State Capitals.

PUBLIC ACTS, RECORDS, AND JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS OF STATES.

The Constitution provides "that full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proven and the effect thereof."

The meaning of this provision in the Constitution is that when a judgment is rendered in proper form by a Court in one State, having jurisdiction which has not been reversed, set aside, nor appealed from, that judgment is conclusive ever after between all parties thereto, and it will be received when offered as evidence in any other Court within the State. By virtue of this Constitutional provision, Congress has passed laws defining the manner in which judgments shall be exemplified and the effect to be given thereto, and declaring that such judgments shall be entitled to the same credit uniformly in all the Courts of the United States, as they are by law entitled to in the Courts of the State within which the judgments were rendered.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

There are two methods of amending the Constitution:

I. The Constitution provides, Article V, that Congress shall propose amendments to the Constitution whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary.

By this method the proposed amendment is drafted in due form under direction of Congress and submitted to the Legislatures of the several States for ratification or rejection. Or State Conventions may be called, when the matter may be submitted to them. Or,

II. On the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, Congress shall call a Convention for propos-

ing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths of the States, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress. Under the foregoing it becomes the duty of Congress to determine whether the proposed amendments shall be submitted to the State Legislatures or State Conventions, and this whether such amendments shall have been proposed by Congress, or by Conventions called to propose the same.

There have been fifteen amendments to the Constitution, all of which originated with Congress and were ratified by State Legislatures.

The Thirteenth and Fifteenth Amendments relate exclusively to the colored people. They are as follows :

XIII. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

XV. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

METHOD OF MAKING LAWS.

For the purpose of carrying the provisions of the Constitution into effect, Congress is clothed with a general law-making authority.

The Constitution provides, Congress shall assemble once in each year, on the first Monday in December, or on proper occasions the President may convene either or both Houses. Laws are usually introduced in Congress, first in the form of bills. A bill is a draft of a proposed law. After the meeting

of Congress, the Senate and House proceed to organize, by the election of proper officers. The House elects a Speaker and other officers, and the Senate, their officers except the President.

After certain preliminaries, the presiding officer arranges the order of business. Different committees are appointed, as Committee on Finance, or Committee on Commerce, or the like.

Committees are invested with authority to propose such measures for legislation, as they deem proper, relative to the subject of their appointments. Any measure adopted in Committee is drawn up in the form of a bill, and is usually introduced, upon the report of the Committee, to the House by the Chairman of the Committee. After the bill is reported, it may be amended by either House. If a bill is amended by one House, after having passed the other, it must be re-submitted to the House in which it originated for their concurrence. A bill may become a law in any one of three ways: 1. After having passed both Houses, the bill is sent to the President. If the President approve it, he shall sign it and return it to the House when it becomes a law. 2. If the President does not approve the bill, he shall return it, with his objections, to the House in which it originated. This is called a veto. The House shall then enter the objections on their journal, and they shall then proceed to reconsider the bill, and if it then pass by a two-thirds vote it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House for reconsideration, and if approved there by a two-thirds majority, it shall become a law. 3. By the third process, the bill shall pass both Houses and is presented to the President for approval and signature. If he neglects to approve it, or return it at the end of ten days (Sundays excepted), it becomes a law, unless Congress, by adjourning within that time, prevents its return.

Thus, it will be seen, that by the first process, both the Legislative and Executive branches of the Government are concerned in making the law; that in the second process, the Legislative alone, and in the third process, by inaction of the Executive department.

No bill can be put upon its final passage, in either House, without having received three several readings, and it cannot be read more than once the same day, without permission of the House. The discussions of the bill, if any, are had before the third reading, or between that and the vote. The vote is taken on the third reading. The power of veto is an important factor in Legislative affairs. Properly used, it may operate as a beneficial check upon hasty legislation. Bills may originate and be passed through Congress in party spirit, and members may, and often do, vote, influenced by the heat of discussion. But the President, not having taken part in these matters, is supposed to be capable of viewing the subject from a different stand point, and with impartial judgment. But, on the other hand, the veto power is not absolute, and should the President act in prejudice, or become arrogant, the bill may be passed by a two-thirds vote over the veto.

Thus the Constitution gives the President about one-sixth the power of both Houses, in making the laws.

And not only has the President this power, in relation to the laws, but every resolution, order or vote must receive his sanction, to which the concurrence of Congress may be necessary, except on a question of adjournment. This restriction is to prevent Congress from exercising their authority in the form of orders, resolutions or votes, to avoid the veto power.

RESTRICTIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT.

The Constitution provides that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless, when in case of rebellion or insurrection, the public safety may require it. The writ of *habeas corpus* is a legal writ, directed to a person detaining another, commanding him to produce the person in court, in order that the legality of the restraint may be inquired into.

This is the most famous writ known to the law, and has been justly termed the bulwark of Civil liberty. The writ cannot be issued as a means to determine the guilt or innocence of the person, but only for the purpose of determining the

legality of the restraint between the caption and the day of trial. The date of the origin of the writ of *habeas corpus* is lost in the early dawn of history. Traces of its existence we find in the year book, and it appears to have been familiar to, and well understood by, the Judges in the reign of Henry VI. It is the great sheet-anchor of personal liberty, of which all may be justly proud. It was one of those great rights tardily and reluctantly conceded by tyranny to freedom, in earlier times. Persons are often illegally restrained and imprisoned, and the writ may issue at their instance, or at the instance of some one in their behalf. The writ may be issued by the Supreme, District or Circuit Court of the United States, or by any of the Judges thereof, and by the statutes of the several States, may be issued by the Supreme, District or Circuit Courts of the States, or by the Judges of any such Courts. The writ is never to be denied when the Civil Courts are open, and it can only be suspended in case of rebellion or insurrection. In those cases, it would not be proper to extend it to prisoners and enemies of the Government.

COMMERCE BETWEEN THE STATES.

It is a Constitutional provision that no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another, nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties in another. The object of this provision is to prevent discrimination between the products of different States, and no preference is accorded to the products of one State over those of another, and vessels bound from one State cannot be compelled to pay any such fees or duties. That is, a vessel in the course of its voyage cannot, in passing, be compelled to pay fees or duties to an intermediate port. They can be collected only at the port of entry.

DRAWING PUBLIC MONEY.

Money cannot be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law, no person has any authority to draw public money without appropriations having been legally made. The appropriations must be made by Con-

gress and sanctioned by the President, and until this is done none of the Government officials have the authority to draw a single dollar. The object of this provision is to prevent lavish and profuse expenditures of the public money.

Regular statements of the accounts of the receipts and expenditures, of all public money shall be published from time to time. There is little danger of squandering public funds, when the persons in charge of the same are required to publish to the world the record of the receipts and expenditures, and to render an account to the people of every dollar that is received by them.

TITLES OF NOBILITY.

The Constitution says no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States.

Our Government is founded on the theory that all men are created equal. Hereditary titles are repugnant to its institutions. Republican simplicity and equality are its characteristics. The framers of our Government were jealous of hereditary titles and forbid the United States from granting the same. Nor can anyone become a citizen without he renounce any such title.

BILLS OF ATTAINDER AND EX POST FACTO LAWS.

Bills of attainder and *ex post facto* laws are forbidden by the Constitution. A bill of attainder is a special act passed by the Legislature inflicting punishment of death upon a person without his having been convicted by due process of law. In early times this practice was common in England. They are called attainder because the person against whom the act is passed, is said to become attainted; his blood by fiction of law corrupted, nothing passes by inheritance to, from, or through him, and all his estate, real and personal, is forfeited to the Government. Such a law is cruel in the extreme, a relic of barbarism and unjust. During the reign of Henry VIII persons of the highest rank, by this means, were frequently brought to the scaffold, among whom may be mentioned the Earl of Surrey,

the Earl of Essex, and others, who suffered for denying the King's supremacy.

In most of these cases the bills were passed upon evidence which never could have been received as sufficient or admissible in a Court of law, and there are even instances where parties were attainted and punished without there being any evidence against them at all, and even without their being heard in their defense. But not only are such bills forbidden, but the Constitution further provides that no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attained. That is, although a person may be legally convicted of treason, yet such conviction shall work a forfeiture only during his life.

An *ex post facto* law is but little more just than a bill of attainder. A law which makes an act criminal, which was not so when committed, or one which increases the penalty that attaches to an act already committed, is called an *ex post facto* law.

CLAIMS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

The Constitution declares that nothing therein shall be construed to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State. The object of this clause was to give those holding claims against the Government, under the Confederation, assurance that their rights would be respected and their claims equally valid under the new form of Government, and it further provides, also, that all debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of the Constitution should be as valid against the United States, under the Constitution, as under the Confederation; and all debts authorized by law, and payments of pensions and bounties, should not be questioned. But no State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States.

RELIGIOUS TESTS.

The Constitution says that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under

the United States, and Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. To keep forever separate Church and State, is a cardinal principle of our Government. Every man may worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. To require religious tests, therefore, would be contrary to the spirit of our institutions.

PETITIONS.

Congress is also prohibited from passing any law denying the right of the people to peaceably assemble and petition the Government for a redress of their grievances.

This is one of the means by which a people may bring to the notice of the Government their wants and desires, and all just Governments should give respectful attention to addresses coming from the people.

THE MILITIA.

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to bear arms shall not be infringed. This is a just provision of the Constitution made in the interests of the people. It refers to the organization of State militia, as distinguished from a standing army.

Many of the Foreign Governments keep large standing armies at the expense of the people. At present the standing army of Great Britain is about 215,000; of Austria, 354,000; Germany, 430,000; France, 525,000; while Russia has a standing army of 818,000. These immense armies of men are kept and fed in idleness at the expense of the people.

A Government might be overthrown by the usurpation of a large standing army, but under our system of Government, militia sufficient could soon be summoned together that would far outnumber any standing army that this country will ever tolerate in time of peace. The standing army of the United States at present, is about 33,000. It is made the duty of Congress to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them, as may be employed in the service of the United States, but the States

have the right to appoint their officers and to train their militia, according to the rules prescribed by Congress.

NEW STATES NOT TO BE FORMED.

By virtue of Constitutional provision no new State can be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States without the consent of the Legislature, or of the States concerned. In the Constitutional Convention the larger States feared that smaller States might be erected out of their territory, while the smaller States feared that, without their consent, they might be attached to other States. These provisions of the Constitution were made as a guarantee against such results. Virginia, however, was divided in 1863. But that was a war measure and was justified as such. Upon the secession of Virginia from the Union the people of the Western portion of the State, being loyal, formed themselves into a State, and were admitted into the Union under the name of West Virginia.

FEDERAL GUARANTEES.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of Government and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on the application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence. By this provision of the Constitution the United States are bound to see that the voice of the people, as expressed through the ballot, shall control, and that the laws of each shall be respected and enforced. The States have the right to the protection of the Federal Government against foreign invasion. States cannot engage in war, individually, and therefore require the protection of the Government at large.

Under a Republican form of Government there is much liability to domestic violence and insurrection. Therefore in such cases, when properly applied for, it becomes the duty of the General Government to lend its power in suppressing domestic violence.

RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP.

The Constitution provides that the citizens in each State are entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several States, and by the same authority all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction, are citizens thereof, and of the State in which they reside. By these provisions citizenship is made National, and a person being a citizen in one State may change his domicile to any other, and he is entitled to the same privileges and rights under the latter as in the former State. He may hold and enjoy office, acquire property, the same in his adopted, as in his native State.

FUGITIVES FROM JUSTICE.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or any other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime. Were it not for this clause in the Constitution, persons could commit crimes in one State with impunity and then flee to some other State and evade punishment.

Fugitives from justice, who are in a foreign State, are obtained by process called requisition, it being a demand in writing, accompanied by certain preliminaries, on the Executive authority of the State to which the criminal fled, but as each State has its own regulations in relation to these matters it would be impracticable to refer to them here in detail.

ENUMERATION OF RIGHTS.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people, and powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people. These provisions speak for themselves.

In the first instance, the very fact that certain enumerated powers are reserved to the States, shall not be construed to

deny to the States rights that are not so enumerated. In the second place, as all the powers of the General Government are derived either by delegation from the States or restrictions on the States, Governmental authority extends no further than to such powers—all others being reserved to the several States or to the people.

OBLIGATIONS OF STATES.

The ratification of the Constitution by the Conventions of nine of the States, was made sufficient by that instrument for the establishment of the same between those States so ratifying it. But there was no obligation resting upon the States requiring them to adopt the Constitution. They could come into the Union under the Constitution, or they could refuse. If they adopted the provisions of the Constitution, they became subject thereto, and to all of its amendments. Had they not adopted it, they would have remained independent Governments, as distinct from the National Government as Cuba or San Domingo.

THE SUPREME LAW.

"The Constitution and Laws of the United States which are made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under authority of the United States, shall be the Supreme Law of the land, and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." By this provision all States are bound by the Constitution and the Laws of the United States, and should any State pass laws in conflict with any such, the same would be void. States may adopt Constitutions and laws regulating their own affairs, but they must accord in the main with the Constitution and Laws of the United States, and anything which contravenes them is utterly void. There are certain police powers, however, inherent in every State, and States have the right to legislate upon such subjects in a manner different from the United States. For instance the United States Government may grant license to sell intoxicating liquors, while the States, acting under their general

police powers, may prohibit the sale of such liquors entirely. In such case there is no conflict between the Federal and State Government.

In case of a conflict between the Federal and the State Government, the former must prevail, and the Judges are bound to so consider the law. Were this not so, the Government would be characterized by weakness, and the laws liable to be set aside by State legislation.

STATE RESTRICTIONS.

The Constitution declares that no State shall enter into any treaty, Alliance, or Confederation. This is to prevent States from making Confederations or Alliances. Were States not thus restricted they might form Alliances which might become dangerous to the stability of the Government, might form Alliances with Great Britain, Russia, or other Foreign Powers, and set the authority of the United States at defiance. States cannot grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal. This power belongs to the General Government. Nor can States coin money. Were the States vested with this power, the forms, weights, and values of money might be changed, and the value of the circulating medium impaired. States are also prohibited from emitting bills of credit, and making anything but gold and silver a legal tender for debts. By a bill of credit is meant an engagement to pay money issued by Governmental authority. Such bills were issued by most if not all the States before the adoption of the Constitution, and but few, if any, of such bills were ever redeemed.

The authority to create a paper currency belongs to the General Government. The legal tender paper money of the country was made so by act of Congress, passed in 1862, and the Supreme Court of the United States has declared the law Constitutional. Were the States permitted to issue and make paper money a legal tender, large amounts of money might be thrust upon the country by any State without the ability to meet the obligation which would greatly unsettle commercial affairs and business transactions. No State is permitted to pass bills of attainder or *ex-post facto* laws. Such laws are contrary

to the spirit of all free Government and counter to every principle of justice, and neither the United States, nor any State can enact them. No State can pass any law impairing the obligations of contracts. It is an underlying principle of law in relation to contracts that their obligations shall be faithfully observed by the parties entering into them, and the Courts are bound to enforce such contracts, according to the intent of the parties. Contracts may be improvidently entered into, but the engagements thereof should be strictly enforced. It is not the province of the Courts to make contracts for parties, but it is their business to construe them. Should any State pass a law impairing the obligation of contracts, the same would be declared unconstitutional and void.

States are forbidden from granting titles of nobility. Aristocracy in all its forms is against the spirit of a Republican form of Government. In this country a man is esteemed for his inherent worth and moral qualities, and not for titles and dignities.

Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Viscounts and Barons may possess these qualities, but not always, and we are sorry to add, very frequently do not possess them.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what shall be necessary for executing its inspection laws, and the net products of all duties and imposts, levied by any State, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States, and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of Congress. The reasons for this provision are to create uniformity in commercial affairs, and to guard against discriminations; but there is a slight distinction as to the inspection laws, they being laws to ascertain the qualities of articles, before they become articles of commerce, to fit them for exportation and domestic use.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any engagement or compact with any other State, or with any foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Tonnage here referred to, is a duty or tax levied on vessels in proportion to the cubical contents expressed by tons. Were States permitted to keep troops or ships of war, or form alliances, or declare war, without the consent of the Government, they might, at will, amass large armies and navies and form alliances with foreign powers. The stability of the Government might be endangered, and civil turmoil ensue.

PERSONAL RIGHTS.

By Article 3, of the Constitutional Amendment, no soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner prescribed by law.

This clause in the Constitution had its origin from the fact that before the Revolutionary War the British Government was in the habit of quartering troops upon the people, and in his terrific arraignment of George III., Mr. Jefferson sets it forth as one of the grievances of the Colonists. During those times, the haughty and tyrannical George quartered his insolent and domineering soldiery upon the people, and spurned, with contempt, their petitions for relief. If there is one place on earth that should be sacred from intrusion, it is home. Around it the tender memories of father, mother, sister, brother, cling with ever endearing remembrances, not to be broken with the thread of life. No free people will permit its sancity to be violated, and all just Governments should afford it protection.

In time of war it might become necessary to quarter troops upon the people, but this could only be done in the manner directed by law.

RESTRICTIONS AGAINST UNLAWFUL SEIZURES AND SEARCHES.

Article IV. of the Amendment says: The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized. In all

ages, the abuses of tyranny have been furthered by seizures and searches, and men have been deprived of life, liberty and property by such means. The authors of our Government, by this article, define the conditions, and limit the terms upon which warrants of search may issue, and it is a perpetual safeguard against all illegal seizures. The warrant must particularly describe the place to be searched, and the person or thing to be seized, and it must be supported by oath or affirmation, of the person procuring the issuance of the warrant.

INDICTMENT AND TRIAL.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger, nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, nor be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

The expression, capital crime, as here used, refers to a crime the punishment of which is death, such as murder, treason, piracy, or the like, while an infamous crime refers to one which works infamy, as loss of honor, among which may be mentioned perjury, forgery or larceny. An indictment is a written accusation against a person of a crime or misdemeanor, presented to, and preferred upon oath or affirmation, by a Grand Jury legally convoked. A Grand Jury is a body of men, consisting of not less than twelve nor more than twenty-four, but in practice, only twenty-three are sworn. Being called into the jury box, they are usually permitted to select a Foreman.

They have jurisdiction co-extensive with the Court. They have power to compel the attendance of witnesses, and to examine them in support of the indictment. They sit with closed doors, and are sworn to keep secret their proceedings.

The Prosecuting Attorney has access to them, advises them as to matters of law, and draws up the indictment in legal form, and the Foreman of the Grand Jury indorses on the indictment the words, "A true bill," and signs his name under these words.

When an indictment is thus found and returned the accused is arrested upon a warrant issued by which he is brought into Court and is arraigned for trial before the Petit Jury, unless he procure an adjournment. This is the mode of procedure in all such cases, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service, or in time of war, or public danger. The cases mentioned in the exception are under the jurisdiction of Courts Martial, which are military or naval tribunals.

They have jurisdiction of offenses against the law of service Military or Naval, they may be general, regimental, or garrison, according as to how the offense occurred. In these cases the accused is punished without the formalities of an indictment.

By the same clause a person cannot be put twice in jeopardy for the same offense. There is considerable room for discussion as to when a person may be said to have been once in jeopardy, but a discussion of this question is not in place in a work of this character. But the meaning of the expression is, however, that a person after having been once tried for an offense and acquitted can never be again tried upon the same charge. It seems but just that a person after having once passed the ordeal of a criminal trial should not again be compelled to defend himself against the same charge in a Court of Justice. If once acquitted he is forever afterward to be presumed innocent of the charge and the record of acquittal when offered in evidence is conclusive proof of his innocence. By the same provision no person can be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. By due process of law we may understand, law as applied in its regular course through Courts of Justice, according to rules and usages established and sanctioned by procedure and precedent. Governments are es-

tablished for the safety and happiness of the citizen, the protection of life, liberty and property, and this clause of the Constitution is declaratory of that principle.

By the same provision no person in a criminal case shall be compelled to be a witness against himself. In the days of tyranny persons charged with crime were frequently compelled to make disclosures and confessions against themselves. This practice was carried to great extent. Many were thrown into prison and there confined until famine and hunger compelled them to make statements criminating themselves, and resort was often had to all the horrors of torture that depraved humanity could conceive—the thumb screw, the wheel, the rack, the fire, were all employed as agents to extract confessions. But those times have passed. Under the genial sunshine and benign influence of liberty they are gone never to return, and this Constitutional guaranty is declaratory of a just sentiment of rational liberty.

Under the same provision private property can only be taken by due process of law and upon just compensation. It may often become necessary that private property be taken for public purposes, in time of war for the support of the army, or to make bridges, railroads, and canals and the law here provides the remedy.

"In criminal proceedings the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense."

These Constitutional rights are extended to all parties upon trial for crime. Every principle announced has been denied the criminal in the early English history. The trial must be speedy and public, and shall be had before a Petit Jury, which shall consist of twelve men, selected so as to avoid, if possible, all prejudice or partiality, from the State and district in which the

crime was committed. He is informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, by the indictment which must set forth the nature of the offense with precision and exactness, and he is usually entitled to a copy of the indictment, if demanded, and of the testimony of the witnesses who have been examined before the Grand Jury in procuring the indictment.

The right to be confronted with witnesses is extended to the accused for the purpose of enabling him to observe the deportment and demeanor of the witness while testifying, and to subject him to the test of cross-examination. "By means of which the situation of the witness in respect to the parties and to the subject of litigation, his interest, his motives, his inclination, and his prejudices, his means of obtaining a correct and certain knowledge of the facts to which he bears testimony, the manner in which he has used those means, his powers of discernment, memory, and description, are all fully investigated and ascertained, and submitted to the consideration of the jury before whom he has testified, and who have thus had an opporiunity of observing his demeanor, and of determining the just weight and value of his testimony."

The right to compel the attendance of witnesses in his favor, is for the purpose of enabling him to make his defense, and to establish what may be in his favor, and to this end the State must furnish the necessary means to secure the attendance of the witnesses.

The right to counsel also, is guaranteed in furtherance of the principles of justice, and should the accused be without means to employ counsel, the Government must provide him counsel at its own expense. Neither counsel nor witnesses were allowed the accused in early times. The Judges were supposed to see that his legal rights were protected, and witnesses in his favor were regarded as unnecessary. In the days when the infamous Jeffreys "rode the West Circuit," hundreds of people suffered death in violation of all these principles. The victims were dragged from the court shrieking for justice. Judge Jeffreys' court is known in English history as the "Bloody Assizes."

In all cases, except murder and some other heinous offenses, the accused has the right to be discharged from custody upon giving bail for his appearance and trial, and bail shall not be excessive, but reasonable in amount. Were it not for this provision, a person without means might be cast into prison upon trifling charges, and held in custody upon the mere fact of his inability to furnish exorbitant bail. In all cases the bail should be commensurate with the offense.

Fines and punishments shall not be excessive, nor cruel and unusual. Legal writers inform us that it is not so much in the degree of punishment, as in its certainty, that prevents crime.

"In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law."

It will be seen by this that in cases at common law, where the value exceeds twenty dollars, the right of a jury trial is preserved, but this right extends solely to suits at common law, as distinguished from admiralty, or Courts of maritime jurisdiction, or from equitable actions, where the Court determines both the law and the fact. If the value is less than twenty dollars the right of a jury does not exist.

The right of trial by jury in civil as well as in criminal cases has long been regarded as indispensable to the proper and impartial administration of justice, and it is therefore zealously guarded by the Constitution. This right had its origin in England about nine hundred years ago, and was brought to this country by the Colonists. Trial by jury is said to have been introduced into England by Alfred the Great, known in English history as the good King Alfred.

When a case has once been tried it can never again be tried, unless a motion for a new trial prevails or the same has been reversed on appeal, or writ of error, to a higher Court. Were this not the case law suits and litigation would be unrea-

sonably prolonged. This clause therefore is designed to operate as a check upon heedless litigation.

THE EXECUTIVE POWER OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The Executive power is vested in a President of the United States of America. He holds his office for the term of four years, together with the Vice-President, who is chosen for the same term. This power being vested in the President secures energy and vigor to the Government, without which it could not command respect at home nor fear abroad. Laws must be enforced and neglect in these matters teaches disrespect of all authority. Therefore the President must take care that the laws are faithfully executed. The term of office of the President extends four years, but this does not prevent his re-election for a further term, and the same person has frequently been elected to a second term. The Constitution does not prohibit a third term, yet no one has ever been thus elected. There is a tacit understanding that two terms is the maximum, and the sentiment of the people is decidedly against a third. In this country the voice of the people in Governmental affairs is omnipotent, and should a candidate aspire for a third term, then would he understand and realize the full force of that silent and mighty power in the determined opposition of fifty-two millions of free and enlightened people.

The Presidential term commences on the fourth day of March next after his election, but in case of death, resignation or removal, during the term for which he is elected, the Vice-President, or person who succeeds him, serves the unexpired portion of his term of office.

President Cleveland is the twenty-second President of the United States and his administration is the twenty-sixth Presidential term since the formation of the Government.

No person, except a natural born citizen or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, is eligible to the office of President. Neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within

the United States. The qualification of citizenship, was thought necessary in order to exclude persons of foreign birth from holding the office of President, except persons who became citizens before the adoption of the Constitution, that of age, to give him judgment, experience and wisdom, while the residence was designed to acquaint him with the genius and spirit of our institutions, and to enable the people to judge of his character, patriotism and worth.

Congress has the authority to determine the time of choosing the Electors. Under which authority a law has been passed that the Electors in each State shall be chosen on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of the year of the Presidential election. The number of Electors always corresponding with the number of Senators and Representatives to which the States are entitled in Congress. After being chosen, the Electors meet in their respective States in such place as the Legislature shall direct, generally at the State Capital. The meeting takes place in all the States on the first Wednesday in December after the election, and they then vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. When the Constitution was adopted, it was supposed that this choice would be made as to the qualifications and merits of the candidates, but such is never done. The Electors act in a mere mechanical manner, casting their ballots for the person that has been fixed upon as standard bearer of that political party, which the Elector represents. Such has been the custom for many years, and should an Elector cast his ballot otherwise, it would be considered a breach of the implied confidence upon which he accepted the trust.

After voting, the Electors are required to make lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists are to be signed and certified by the Electors, and transmitted to the seat of Government directed to the President of the Senate. The law provides that the Electors shall make, sign and seal, three distinct sets of these certificates, noting on

each that a list of the votes of the respective States for President and Vice-President is contained therein. They shall then forward by messengers to the President of the Senate one of these certificates, who shall deliver the same, before the first Wednesday in January following. Another is to be transmitted by mail to the same person, and the third, is to be delivered to the Judge of the District Court in the district in which the Electors meet, so, in case of loss or tampering, the true result can be ascertained.

When the certificates are received by the President of the Senate, a joint meeting of the Houses is called on the second Wednesday of February, after the reception of the certificates. "The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates."

"The votes shall then be counted." The counting is done by tellers. "The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed. If no candidate receive a majority of the votes of the Electors, there is no choice by the people, in which case the President shall be elected by the House of Representatives. This can only occur when there are three or more candidates in the field."

If no person have a majority then, from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. The provision, vesting the authority to elect the President in the House, when the people fail to elect, is expressly given, because the House more nearly represents the people than any other branch of the Government.

"A quorum, for this purpose, shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice."

The House is not permitted to vote for new candidates, but their proceedings must be confined to the three persons receiving the highest number of votes for the office of President. The votes must be taken by States and by ballot, the represen-

tation from each State having one vote. Should the House fail to elect a President, before March 4, following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in case of death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The President, as well as the other officers, before he can enter upon the duties of his office, is required to make oath or affirm that he will, to the best of his ability, preserve and defend the Constitution of the United States, and faithfully perform the duties of his office, and for a breach of this oath, he would be liable to impeachment.

"The President shall, at stated times, receive for his salary a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished, during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them."

Without this provision, the President would be entirely dependent upon the will of Congress for remuneration for his services, and difficulties might sometimes arise, in the way of getting proper appropriations from Congress.

From the adoption of the Constitution to the year 1873, the salary of the President was fixed by law at $25,000 per annum. From March 4, 1873, it has been fixed at $50,000 per year. He has also the use of the Presidential Mansion, together with fuel and lights, and other things free, at the expense of the Government.

"The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States."

The President is not to assume command in person, unless he so desire. He has general control and supervision over the army and navy, in directing their operations, in executing and maintaining the laws at home, and in resisting foreign aggression. For these same reasons he is also Commander-in-Chief of the militia of the several States, when called into actual service of the United States.

REPRIEVES AND PARDONS.

The President "shall have power to grant reprieves and

pardons for offenses against the United States except in cases of impeachment."

A reprieve is the withdrawing of a sentence for an interval of time which operates to delay the execution, especially delaying execution in case of sentence of death. A pardon is defined to be an act of grace proceeding from the executive which exempts the individual from the punishment the law inflicts for the crime he has committed.

It often so happens that after a person has been sentenced some new matter arises which makes it necessary to suspend the execution of the sentence for a time, such as newly discovered evidence, or anything which would tend to mitigate the offense. In such case the President has the power to grant a reprieve, or, if the matter rising is such as would justify an entire commutation of the penalty, the President may pardon in full. The power of pardoning by the President does not extend to sentences which have been imposed for violation of the laws of the different States. The pardoning power in such cases rests in the hands of the governors of the States or boards of pardon.

"He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur."

Treaties are usually settled and arranged through ambassadors and ministers appointed for that purpose, and submitted to the President, and if the terms are satisfactory to him, he sanctions them and submits them to the Senate, where they are discussed in secret session, and if ratified by two-thirds of the senators they become complete.

APPOINTMENTS.

The President "shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint, ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law."

Appointments are made by the President and presented to the Senate in writing. The Senate acts upon them in secret session, discussing the qualification of the persons proposed, and either confirms or rejects the nominations. If the nominations be rejected, the President makes further appointments, which in like manner are submitted to the Senate, which could upon proper cause be again rejected; but no body of men would, of course, reject appointments unless absolutely necessary and without just and weighty reasons, and they should never reject upon passion and prejudice.

An ambassador or minister is an officer of the highest rank, chosen by the Government to represent it in a foreign nation.

A consul is a person chosen to represent a government in a foreign country as agent or representative, to protect the rights of commerce, merchants, and seamen of the State, and to aid in any commercial, and sometimes diplomatic, transactions with such foreign country.

The judges are the judicial officers of the Government, and are appointed for life, or during good behavior.

The other officers are included in the President's Cabinet, whom he may consult upon all matters of importance and who share to some extent his responsibility.

The Secretary of State is the leading officer of the Cabinet, having charge of the foreign relations of the United States, including all matters relative to diplomacy, foreign ministers, consuls, and the reception of all communications from foreign powers.

The Secretary of the Treasury has the fiscal affairs of the Government under his direction, involving the collection of revenue from imposts and all other sources, together with the oversight of the various custom-houses, and the numerous officers therein employed.

The Secretary of War has charge of the army and national defenses on land, the various details connected with the land forces of the United States, together with the superintendence of all the forts and military stations.

The Secretary of the Navy has charge of the national defense by sea, in all its necessary details.

The Secretary of the Interior has charge of the Patent Office, the Land Office, Indian affairs, and soldiers' pensions from the War Department, naval pensions from the Navy Department, the taking of the census, the care of public buildings, and other matters.

The Attorney-General is the legal adviser of the President, and of heads of the various departments.

The Postmaster-General has control of the postal arrangements, the appointment of postmasters, contracts for the mail service by sea and by land, and the execution of the laws passed by Congress for the regulation of posts and post-roads.

The President may require the opinion in writing of the principal officer in each of these departments on any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices. "The President has power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session." Were it not for this provision, vacancies might happen during an adjournment of Congress, and the affairs of government would thereby become embarrased.

The Constitution makes it the duty of the President, from time to time, to give Congress information as to the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such matters as he shall deem necessary and expedient. From this requirement has arisen the practice of delivering formal and special messages to Congress. The President has means to acquire information on all subjects, foreign and domestic, much superior to those of any other department of the Government.

Owing to his close relationship with the officers of his Cabinet and other heads of departments, he is supposed to be possessed of the condition of the national affairs, the state of the laws, the commerce, finances, and the workings of the military, naval, judiciary, and civil departments of the Union. Thus he possesses knowledge on these matters which qualifies

him to convey information and recommend such measures as may be requisite to remedy such evils as may have come to his knowledge.

The President "may on extraordinary occasions convene both houses or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper." It is contemplated here that occasions may arise when it shall become necessary to convene Congress. Events may transpire which imperil the interests of the country, and when the joint action of both the legislative and the executive departments of the Government shall be required. If there was no such power as here provided, it is possible that the affairs of government might become endangered and commercial interests suffer.

Should Congress fail to agree on the time of adjournment, the President has the power to terminate it.

"He shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers, and take care that the laws are faithfully executed, and shall commission all officers of the United States.

I. The reception of public ministers from foreign countries is here given to the President. All civilized nations exchange public ministers, and the Executive should receive them with the courtesy and dignity due the character and standing of the powers they represent. This reception is a matter of no small importance, as it shows the respect with which the foreign Government is regarded.

II. In executing the laws the whole military force of the country is at the disposal of the President, for upon a faithful execution of the laws the stability of the Government depends. The President would be liable to impeachment and removal from office should he neglect or refuse to properly enforce the laws.

III. When a person is commissioned he receives a certificate of appointment, which is signed by the President of the United States and sealed by the Secretary of State with the great seal of the United States, reciting in formal and apt

language the appointment of the person and the powers which are conferred.

VICE-PRESIDENT.

"No person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States."

By this is meant that the Vice-President must possess the same qualifications as the President—that is, as to citizenship, age, and residence. This follows as a matter of course, because if the office of President becomes vacant, the Vice-President becomes President, and must possess the qualifications required of that officer.

Four times since the adoption of the Constitution the Vice-President has been called to the office of President:

Harrison was succeeded by Tyler in 1841.

Taylor by Fillmore in 1850.

President Lincoln by Andrew Johnson in 1865.

And President Garfield by Arthur in 1881.

At present there is but one Vice-President living: Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, who was elected in the fall of 1860 with President Lincoln.

The Vice-President is elected in the same manner as the President, except when the electors fail to elect a Vice-President, the Constitution requires that he be elected by the Senate from the two highest numbers on the list of those voted for as Vice-President, a majority only being necessary to a choice. It is but proper that in such case the choice of Vice-President should be committed to the Senate, as by the Constitution he is by virtue of his office made president of that body, but he is to have no vote, unless the Senate is equally divided.

His official term is four years, the same as the President, and the reasons for adopting that term for the office of President exist with like force in case of the Vice-President. He must also take oath of office before entering upon his duties to support the Constitution of the United States.

As president of the Senate, he must preside over the deliberations of that body, preserve decorum, expound the rules,

and decide parliamentary questions, and submit all questions to the Senate, put the votes, and announce the results.

Not only does the Vice-President act as President in case of the death, resignation or inability of the President, but he is also required to act as President should the House of Representatives fail to elect a President, when that right devolves upon them.

By a recent act of Congress, in case of the death or disability of both President and Vice-President, the office of President is to descend to the Secretary of State; and in case of his death or inability, in like manner descending through the entire Cabinet.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

"The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish."

The Supreme Court is only a part of the national judicial system, and is organized by Congress. Its judges consist of one chief justice and eight associate justices, any six of whom constitute a quorum. The court convenes once a year in the city of Washington, commencing the first Monday of December.

In addition to the Supreme Court, Congress has established a Circuit and a District Court of the United States, and one Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.

For the purpose of business, the United States are divided into nine circuits, and these circuits are divided into districts. Each judge of the Supreme Court is appointed to a circuit, and he is required to hold at least one term of his circuit once in every two years.

Every circuit also has a local judge, and two sessions of the court are held annually in most of the circuits.

The President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoints the judges of these several courts.

They are required to take the same oath as the officers of the other departments, and shall hold their offices during good behavior.

That judges should not be dependent upon any particular

person or party as to their tenure of office is necessary to a proper administration of justice.

They should perform their duties without fear or favor, uninfluenced by men or parties, and should mete out equal and impartial justice to all, whether high or low, rich or poor.

The spirit of the Constitution seeks to attain an entire freedom and independence in the judiciary, that the scales of justice may be equally poised, and judges should be responsible for their decisions only to their conscience, and that higher Authority by which all men shall be judged.

"The salary of the judges shall not be diminished during their continuance in office."

This provision is also to secure independence of the judiciary. For had Congress the power to reduce the salary of the judges, they would have control of their support, which would virtually be control of their judgment.

JURISDICTION.

"The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority."

This clause relates to the jurisdiction of the United States courts, in cases mentioned therein, in so far as the subject matter is concerned.

By jurisdiction, we mean the power to hear and determine a cause.

A case at law may be defined as being one tried in accordance with certain prescribed rules and usages, laid down and established by the legislature and precedent, and is usually tried by a jury; while a cause in equity signifies a suit tried in accordance with the principles of natural justice, that cannot be reached by general law rules, by reason of their universality. The trial usually takes place before the judge.

There are two kinds of jurisdiction: original and appellate.

A court is said to have original jurisdiction when a case may be commenced and tried there for the first time. And a

court has appellate jurisdiction when a case is not first commenced there, but may be brought to it by appeal from the judgment of a lower court.

There are certain classes of cases that may either originate in a court, or be brought there by appeal from a lower court. In relation to such cases, the court is said to have concurrent jurisdiction, by which is meant both original and appellate jurisdiction. And, again, there are certain cases that can only be brought in certain courts. Here the court is said to have exclusive jurisdiction.

In all cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States, and in treaties made in pursuance thereof, the Supreme Court of the United States has both original and appellate jurisdiction. It has original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and in those cases in which a State shall be a party, which include controversies between two or more States, between a State and the citizens of another State, and between a State or the citizens thereof and foreign citizens and subjects.

It has appellate jurisdiction in cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, in controversies to which the United States shall be a party, in controversies between different States, and in controversies between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States.

"The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State."

It will be observed by this section that no suits can be maintained against the United States or any State. Should a person have a just claim against a State, he may obtain redress by petitioning the proper authorities, when the legislature will make the necessary provisions for its payment.

By act of Congress in 1855, a Court of Claims was established at Washington to hear and determine claims against the United States. The claim must be set forth by petition with

reasonable particularity, stating its nature and origin, and the party may prove it by the same rules of evidence as usually prevail in courts of justice.

The United States is represented by a solicitor. When a claim is established, it is the duty of Congress to make provisions for its payment.

From this cursory and necessarily hasty glance at the structure of our national Government, it will be readily seen with what scrupulous care and jealous anxiety the illustrious men who have gone before us laid the foundations of our Union in the noble Constitution, which has served as the model by which the individual States as a whole have elaborated their own Governments. With the minute details of that Constitution it is the first duty of every American citizen to familiarize himself. If the intentions of its framers are truly and faithfully carried out, if the national Government is cautious to avoid all infringements upon the reserved rights of the individual States, if the several States are reciprocally determined to fulfill every obligation imposed upon them by a common compact, if a spirit of love for the whole country pervades the bosom of every citizen, then, indeed, we may feel confident that the fond hopes of the most sanguine of the early friends of the Federal Union shall be more than realized—then shall each day's rising sun, while time endures, smile upon a free, enlightened, independent, and united people, and our glorious nation reach its culmination in the wise exercise of a power which none may safely resist; in the cultivation of a genuine rational liberty, recognizing the dignity of the individual man, shall afford ample room and scope for its development.

APPENDIX.

HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

"In stately halls of learning,
'Mid philosophic minds,
Unraveling knotty problems,
His native forte man finds;
But all his 'ists and 'isms
To Heaven's four winds are hurled,
For the hand that rocks the cradle
Is the hand that rules the world.

"Great statesmen govern nations,
Kings mould a people's fate;
But the unseen hand of velvet
These giants regulate.
The ponderous wheel of fortune
In woman's charm is pearled,
For the hand that rocks the cradle
Is the hand that rules the world."

"If I were asked to what the singular prosperity and growing strength of the Americans ought mainly to be attributed, I should reply, to the superiority of their women."—*Democracy in America.*

Woman's higher education may be defined as that education which follows that of school, consisting of moral precepts to govern the conduct of life, and to regulate it in our relations to society, and lay broad foundations for the character of those whom it is our duty to instruct and train for lives of future usefulness.

Said Amie Martin: "Young girls, young wives, young mothers, *you* hold the sceptre; in your souls, much more than in the laws of legislators, now repose the futurity of the world and the destinies of the human race."

The women of the Colored Race need to well understand their duty to one another, and to the world at large, their relation to society, and the good that may be accomplished by rightly understanding what is expected of them, and what may be accomplished by them in elevating their people.

Society, as we now find it, reveals the fact that many are awake to the necessity of engrafting into their people the

higher culture of their powers, and their labors have resulted in accomplishing much good. As a race, they are truly susceptible of this higher culture, but much work is yet required to obliterate the moral evils contracted through long years of bondage, and we trust that this essay may serve as an inspiration to many to lend their influence in gaining this desired end.

More than two thousand years ago, Isocrates, a distinguished writer of Athens, gave utterance to his views concerning the chief requisite toward contributing to the happiness of a people or a State. He laid great stress upon the importance of bestowing the strictest attention upon the education and early training of the youth, in order to gain this end. Word for word, what he then uttered is applicable to the present condition of our society. The history of social life is always repeating itself, as is the history of nations, and those people are the wisest who take the lessons to heart. To a second Isocrates, a disciple of the Athenian orator, is attributed another discourse, which consists of moral precepts for the conduct of life and the regulation of the deportment of the young, illustrating the fact that, link by link, through long centuries, has the culture of one generation been carried down and connected with the next for the ultimate advancement of mankind. The individual may perish, the race become extinct, but the effect of culture throws reflected light down the channel of time.

All systems may be said to have descended from previous ones. The ideas of one generation are the mysterious progenitors of those of the next. Each age is the dawn of its successor, and in the eternal advance of truth—

> "There always is a rising sun
> The day is ever but begun."

It is thus true that there is nothing new under the sun, since the new grows from the old as boughs grow from the tree; and though errors and exaggerations are, from time to time, shaken off, yet, "the things which cannot be shaken" will certainly abide.

Carlyle says: "Literature is but a branch of religion, and always participates in its character." It is still more true

that education is a branch of mental philosophy, and takes its mould and fashion from it. For it is evident that as philosophy, in successive ages, gives varying answers as to man's chief end and *summum bonum*, so education, which is simply an attempt to prepare him therefor, must vary accordingly. Humboldt hints that the vegetation of whole regions bespeaks and depends upon the strata beneath; and it is certainly true that we cannot delve long in the teacher's plot without coming upon those moral questions that go down to the centre.

Richter delighted to preach the doctrine of an ideal man, and that education is the harmonious development of the faculties and dispositions of each individual. No one knew better that he that (in Carlyle's words) a loving heart is the beginning of all knowledge. This it is that opens the whole mind, and quickens every faculty of the intellect to do its fit work. This it is which influences and controls the manners, and, with proper training, distinguishes the well-educated from the ill-educated. It is the women of a nation who make the manners of the men.

It has been said that there is scarcely any soul born into this world in which a self-sacrificing, steady effort on the parents' part may not lay broad and deep the foundations of strength of will, of self-control; and, therefore, of that self-reverence and self-knowledge which, combined with the possession and love of noble ideas, will enable men and women not only to have good manners, but to be true and useful to God and mankind. The regeneration of their society is in the power of the colored woman, and she must not turn away from it. The manners of men, the hearts of men, the lives of men, are in her hands. How does she use her power? We look with pride upon the thousands of colored women scattered all over our broad land, true and noble representatives of the ideal woman, inspired by a lofty ambition and a desire to elevate their people to higher walks in social life; but, alas! all are not so. We see living answers to this sad truth in every circle of society around us. There is no sadder sight in this world than to see the women of a land grasping at the ignoble honor and

rejecting the noble; leading the men, whom they should guide into high thought and active sacrifice, into petty slander of gossip in conversation, and into discussion of dangerous and unhealthy feeling, becoming in this degradation of their directing power the curse, and not the blessing, of social intercourse —becoming what men in frivolous moments wish them to be, instead of making men what men should be; ceasing to protest against impurity and unbelief, and giving them an underhand encouragement, turning away from their mission to bless, to exalt, and to console, that they may struggle through a thousand meannesses into a higher position, and waste their divine energy to win precedence over a rival; expending all the force which their nature gives them in their false and sometimes base excitements, day after day, with an awful blindness and a pitiable degradation; exhausting life in amusements which fritter away, or in amusements which debase their character—not thinking of the thousands of their sisters who are weeping in the night for hunger and for misery of heart. "This is not our work," some say; "this is the work of the men." Be it so, if you like. Let them be the hands that do it; but who, if not women, are to be the hearts of the redemption of their sex from social wrong?

Still nearer home lies the point which is nearest the heart of those interested in the higher culture of women—namely, the proper education of the colored youth. Our miscalled education looks chiefly as to how a young girl may make a good figure in society, and this destroys in her the beauty of unconsciousness of self. She grows up and enters society, and there is either a violent reaction against conventionality, or there is a paralyzing sensitiveness to opinion, or there is a dull repose of character and manner, which is all but equivalent to stagnation. We see many who are afraid of saying openly what they think or feel, if it be in opposition to the accredited opinion of the world; we see others who rejoice in shocking opinion for the sake of making themselves remarkable—perhaps the basest form of social vanity, for it gives pain and does not spring from conviction. Both forms arise from the

education which makes the child self-conscious, leading the mind to ask that degrading question, "What will people say of me?"

Colored women should guard closely against this, for, to make your children live only by the opinions of others, to train them not to influence, but to submit to the world, is to educate them to think only of themselves, is to train them up to inward falseness, is to destroy all eternal distinctions between right and wrong, is to reduce them to that level of uneducated unoriginality which is the most melancholy feature in the young society of the present day. Let them grow naturally, keep them as long as is possible unconscious of themselves; and, for the sake of the world, which, in the midst of all its conventional dullness, longs for something fresh and true, if not for their own sakes, do not press upon them the belief that the voice of society is the measure of what is right or wrong, beautiful or unbeautiful, fitting or unfitting for them to do. This want of individuality is one of the most painful deficiencies in our present society. The ratification of this evil lies at the root of Christianity, for all Christ's teachings tend to produce individuality, to rescue men from being mingled up, indistinguishable atoms, with the mass of men; to teach them that they possess a distinct character which it is God's will to educate; distinct gifts which God will inspire and develop.

We want men and women who will think for themselves, and study deeply the great lessons that may be learned by the development of their own individual character. And now we see a desire manifested among the colored people, a longing for some fresh ideas to come and stir the stagnant pools of life.

This may be best accomplished by the angels of our households, wherever there is one who, in the face of manifold discouragements of daily life, "borne down by the little carking cares that sap out love so slowly but so surely," still bears up, and, by example and conversation—

"Teaches love to suffer and be pure.
That virtue conquers if it but endure;
That noblest gifts should serve the noblest ends,
That he 's the richest who the most befriends;
That through life's journey, dark or bright the day,
Fate 's not unkind, whatever men may say,
If goodness walks companion of their way."

It is the preacher's province to inspire women with a desire to do their share of the geat work, which should be and which is their mission—namely, the purification, improvement and regeneration of mankind by living up to doctrines which, though everywhere professed, are seldom followed. These verses from the grand poem of Whittier to "Our Master" reveal wherein we fail:

* * * "O Love ineffable!
Thy saving name is given;
To turn aside from thee is hell,
To walk with thee is heaven.

"Not thine the bigots' partial plea,
Nor thine the zealots' ban;
Thou well canst spare a love for thee
Which ends in hate of man.

"We bring no ghastly holocaust,
We pile no graven stone;
He serve the best who loveth most
His brothers and thy own."

Judged by such a test, who can say, "I am a Christian?" Rather will not some of the teachings of barbarian philosophers put us to shame! Only by instilling into the minds of children, from their earliest years, a love of justice and truth, sympathy with all their kind, reverence for all goodness, and a conscientious desire to know and to do the right, can we hope to have a generation of Christian men and women worthy of the republic which confers upon them its unsurpassed rights and privileges. Then will our colored communities be influenced by other principles than those by which so many of them are now governed.

As we study closely into the lives and principles of the colored people, we find there, as among the other races, not only those who have worked earnestly and untiringly for the advancement of their race, in a literary and commercial sense, but in that higher education and culture which lends a charm

to life, and infuses others with a desire to engraft into their own lives this same principle. It is the same cause that engaged the labors and made the pens of Amie Martin, Harriet Martineau, Lucretia Mott, Lucy Colman, and a host of others eloquent in the advocation of the truest and highest principles of life. This higher culture is now occupying the minds and hearts of numbers of our colored women, who realize that under *the domestic roof* are formed those opinions and those moral feelings which inspire the masses to lead better lives and guard closely their moral character. This principle is that which sustains institutions and governments, or the lack of which will cause them to fall.

Women are formed to become instructors, for while they hold immediately in their hands the morality of their children, those future sovereigns of the earth, the example they may give and the charm they diffuse over other periods of life furnish to them means for the amelioration of every evil. Whatever in political organization is not founded on the true interests of families soon disappears or produces only evil; and these interests are chiefly confided to women, particularly as the attention of men is otherwise directed. As also in the material arrangements, it is principally to women that the care of health and the care of property has devolved; so in the spiritual department, it is they who communicate or awaken sentiments which are the life of the soul—the eternal impetus of actions. Their influence is immense in the vicissitudes of life. There is then constant action and reaction between public and private life, and thence may result a double advancement in civilization; for, if domestic administration were generally better understood, a purer element would be poured into society by a thousand channels.

That which it seems most necessary to form in our colored women is a prompt ability to decide correctly of what every moment requires. Principles elevated, firm, and founded on reflection, joined to her natural gifts, can alone render her capable of fulfilling that mission of instruction for which she is designed.

It is through her children that a woman rules posterity; that she leaves, for good or for evil, indelible marks on the universe; that the tendencies inherited from the past are transmitted to the future—acquired qualities as well as natural qualities—and so we come back to the assertion of the Athenian philosopher, as to the importance of educating our youth aright. Just in proportion as colored mothers train aright their children, so we will see the race advance, and not until then. The Spartan mothers taught their children war and love of country, and we see in that people bravery, such as the world had never before witnessed, and so may we inspire within our children a lofty ambition and noble sentiments.

Children should be taught the laws of health, and that for every violation of these laws they will suffer the penalty. Well has Dr. Clark said, "Let Eve take a wise care of the temple God made for her, and Adam of the one made for him, and both will enter upon a career whose glory and beauty no seer has foretold, or poet sung."

Not the happiness of life, perhaps, but its blessedness, is learned in living for others; and, as Dr. Kingsley says, it is the glory of a woman that for this end she was sent into the world, to live for others rather than for herself; to live, yes, and often to die for them. Let her never be persuaded to forget that she is sent into the world to teach man that there is something more necessary than the claiming of rights, and that is the performing of duties; to teach him also that her rights should be respected, and her wrongs redressed; that her education should be such as to draw out her powers of mind to the best advantage and their fullest extent; that there is something more than intellect, and that is purity and virtue. Surely this is woman's calling—to teach man; to teach him, after all, that his calling is the same as hers, if he will but see the things that belong to his peace; to temper his fiercer, coarser, more self-assertive nature, by the contact of her gentleness, purity, self-sacrifice; to make him see that not by blare of trumpets, not by noise, wrath, greed, hatred, ambition, intrigue, puffery, prejudice, bigotry, is good and lasting work to be done on earth; but by

helpful hands, by sympathizing hearts, by wise self-distrust, by silent labor, by lofty self-control, by that greatest of all virtues, that charity which hopeth all things, believeth all things, endureth all things, by such an example, in short, as women *now*, in tens of thousands of homes, set to those around them; and such as they will show more and more in proportion as their whole womanhood is educated to employ its powers without waste and without haste in harmonious unity.

Let her begin girlhood, if such be her happy lot, to quote from Wordsworth:

> "With all things round about her drawn
> From May-time and the cheerful dawn;
> A dancing shape, an image gay,
> To haunt, to startle and waylay."

Let her develop onward:

> "A spirit, yet a woman, too,
> With household motions light and free,
> And steps of virgin liberty.
> A countenance in which shall meet
> Sweet records, promises as sweet;
> A creature not too bright and good
> For human nature's daily food;
> For transient sorrows, simple wiles,
> Praise, blame, love, kisses, tears, and smiles."

But let her highest and final development be that which not nature, but self-education alone, can bring.

Let the higher education of women be undertaken and carried out with such ends in view, and in another generation some of the most perplexing problems of social science will be solved. "Good teachers make good scholars, but it is only mothers that form men," cannot be too often repeated, for in this truth we have the key to the reformation of mankind.

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